

BYZANTINE ART AND THE DUGENTO:
ICONOGRAPHIC SOURCES OF THE PASSION
SCENES IN ITALIAN PAINTED CROSSES

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ABSTRACT

During the past twenty years art historians have increasingly turned their attention to a long-recognized but little-understood phenomenon, the influence of Byzantine art on Western art in the later Middle Ages. Of particular concern is the impact of Byzantium on Italian art during the thirteenth century--a critical period preceding the great flowering of Tuscan painting in the early Trecento. Scholars have rightly stressed the role of Constantinople in the formation of Dugento painting, and have begun to examine more precisely the types of Byzantine models available to Tuscan painters and the degree to which these painters reproduced their sources. The original purpose of this dissertation was to carry this process of documentation further by examining the Passion scenes on the tabellone of historiated painted crosses and tracing the iconographic debt of each scene to Byzantine formulations. It was assumed that in the crosses executed before the Fourth Crusade of 1204 the tabellone would betray no evidence of direct contact with Byzantine sources, whereas in those crosses postdating the Fourth Crusade, when Byzantine manuscripts and icons were presumably brought to Italy in great quantity, the Passion scenes would reflect the painters' fresh study of Byzantine art.

The results of the study were in some ways surprising. First, it was found that the iconographic development of most of the Passion scenes conformed to the same pattern: the scenes in the earlier, pre-Dugento crosses followed an iconographic model which was long established in Italy, but in the later crosses this traditional type was

discarded and replaced with a new version which was often radically different from the earlier type. This willingness to break with entrenched formulae and experiment with new images is in itself significant: the Dugento is still at times characterized as artistically stagnant, resistant to change.

Second, though one might expect that each of these new versions had been derived from Byzantine art, this was not invariably the case. While in some instances the new image was directly patterned after Eastern types, in other cases the new type was demonstrably non-Byzantine in its iconographic essentials and instead most closely resembled versions found in Northern Europe. This rejection of Byzantine formulations in the heyday of the "maniera greca" suggests that the question of Byzantine influence on the Dugento is far more complex than is sometimes thought.

If dependence on Constantinople does not always explain the new iconographic types of the Dugento, what does? The common thread uniting the new images seems to be not reliance on sources from any one artistic center but a new conception of Christ and His Passion. In almost every case, the new type depicted Christ as a vulnerable, suffering victim rather than the triumphant Redeemer of the earlier type; whereas earlier artists stressed His divinity, later artists stressed His humanity. This concern with Christ's humanity, especially during the Passion, has long been associated with the Christocentric piety of St. Francis and his followers; in the devotional writings of St. Francis and later theologians influenced by him, descriptions of the events of Christ's Passion were shown to correspond very closely with the new images under discussion.

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Note: After the final typing of the manuscript I came across the recently published dissertation of Maurice Erwin Cole, The Venetian

Chapel of the Sacrament in the Sixteenth Century: A Study of the
Iconography of the Counter Reformation (University of Chicago, 1965;
New York: Garland, 1979). Though it is principally concerned with
the Counter Reformation, many sections are relevant to this thesis,
particularly his discussion of the cult of the Corpus Christi and
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167. Lamentation. Rome, Vatican Museum, Ms. gr. 1156, fol. 194v. (Weitzmann, "Threnos," fig. 16).

168. Lamentation. Nerezi, St. Panteleimon (Velmans, Peinture murale, fig. 101).
169. Two Women at the Tomb. Berlin, Staatliche Museum, Ms. gr. quarto 66, fol. 95 (Schiller, II, fig. 566).
170. Lamentation. Steatite plaque. Rome, Vatican Museum (Millet, Recherches, fig. 543).
171. Entombment. Hosios Lukas (Velmans, Peinture murale, fig. 299).
172. Peter and John at the Tomb. Florence, Laurentian Library, Ms. Plut. VI. 23, fol. 209v. (Velmans, Tetraévangile, fig. 299).
173. Peter and John at the Tomb. Munich, Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 15713, fol. 7v. (Swarzenski, Regensburger Malerei, fig. 62).
174. Anointing of Christ. Chartres, Royal Portal, capital frieze (Schiller, II, fig. 591).
175. Anointing of Christ. Dreux, St. Étienne, capital (Pradel, fig. 50).
176. Anointing of Christ. Winchester Psalter, London, British Museum, Ms. Cott. Nero CIV, fol. 23 (Wormald, Winchester Psalter, pl. 26).
177. Entombment, from the Salerno Antependium. Stone relief. Salerno, Museo del Duomo (Bergman, fig. 22).
178. Entombment. Sant'Angelo in Formis, near Capua (Schiller, II, fig. 568).
179. Entombment. London, Victoria and Albert Museum, Ms. 661 (Kauffmann, fig. 180).
180. Entombment. Salzburg, Stiftsbibliothek St. Peter, Ms. a. XXX.7, fol. 631 (Swarzenski, Salzburger Malerei, II, fig. 352).
181. Three Women at the Tomb, Entombment. Gospels of Henry the Lion, Collection of the Duke of Brunswick, fol. 174v. (Schiller, II, fig. 571).
182. Church of the Holy Sepulchre. Crusader seal (Vincent et al., fig. 27).
183. Nicholas of Verdun. Entombment, from the Klosterneuberg Altar. Klosterneuberg, Church of the Augustinian Monastery (Schiller, II, fig. 573).

184. Entombment. Winchester, Cathedral, Chapel of the Holy Sepulchre (Demus, Romanesque Mural Painting, pl. opposite p. 123).
185. Entombment. St. Albans Psalter, Hildesheim, St. Godehard, Library, fol. 48 (Pächt, pl. 30-a).
186. Entombment. Ashburnam Evangelistary, Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, Ms. Bibl. McClean 22. fol. 29v (Swarzenski, Salzburger Malerei, II, fig. 233).
187. Lamentation. Egina, Palaeochora, Omorphi Ecclisia (Millet, Recherches, fig. 522).
188. Resurrection. Ashburnam Evangelistary, Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, Ms. Bibl. McClean 22, fol. 30 (Swarzenski, Salzburger Malerei, II, fig. 234).
189. Bearing of the Body. Theodore Psalter, London, British Museum, Add. Ms. 19352, fol. 116 (Weitzmann, "Threnos," fig. 6).
190. Bearing of the Body. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. gr. 74, fol. 209r. (Weitzmann, "Thenos," fig. 7).
191. Bearing of the Body. Monreale, Cathedral (Demus, Mosaics of Norman Sicily, pl. 71-B).
192. Bearing of the Body. Sopoćani, Church of the Holy Trinity (Millet-Frolow, III, pl. 98 [5]).
193. Epitaphios. Bucharest, State Museum (Millet, Recherches, fig. 537).
194. Lamentation, detail: holy women. Ohrid, St. Clement (Velmans, Peinture murale, fig. 110).
195. Giotto. Lamentation, Padua, Arena Chapel (Schiller, II, fig. 600).
196. Isaac Master. Lamentation. Assisi, San Francesco, Upper Church (Belting, Oberkirche, pl. 66).

INTRODUCTION

That Byzantine art exerted a profound influence on Italian art of the thirteenth century has been universally acknowledged since the time of the earliest commentators and chroniclers. But this influence, even today, remains only incompletely understood. For over three hundred years, most writers reiterated Vasari's denunciation of Byzantine art as "clumsy, awkward...[and] villainous," a "grossness" only gradually "purged" from Italian painting; only in the early part of this century did a revision of Vasari's stance gradually occur, and the impact of Byzantine art on the Dugento was increasingly interpreted as positive rather than obstructionistic.¹ And it is only within the past fifteen years that scholars have begun to analyze the phenomenon in depth. Major contributions have been made by James Stubblebine--first in a paper read at the Dumbarton Oaks Symposium of 1965, "Byzantine Influence in Thirteenth-Century Italian Panel Painting," and more recently in a penetrating study of Duccio's stylistic and iconographic debt to Paleologan manuscripts.² Another recent landmark is the publication of a major monograph by Otto Demus, Byzantine Art and the West.³ But these studies only mark the beginning of what must be a long and exacting process--the reexamination of Dugento painting in the light of specific stylistic and iconographic developments in Byzantine art. As Hans Belting has succinctly observed, "the history of the Dugento needs to be rewritten."⁴

It seems logical that this reexamination of the Dugento should begin with the earliest monuments of Italian panel painting, the

painted crosses of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.⁵ Until the radical simplification of the scheme by Giunta Pisano, many of these crosses contained historiated lateral panels--tabellone--depicting events from the Passion and later life of Christ.⁶ Even after Giunta, historiated side scenes did not disappear; they recurred even into the early Trecento. Today nineteen historiated crosses, all from major centers of Tuscan painting, survive with tabellone intact.⁷

The lateral panels, particularly those representing the Passion, for several reasons comprise a fruitful subject in which to explore the phenomenon of Byzantine influence on the Dugento. First is their historical importance: they form the earliest narrative cycles in Italian panel painting. Second is their chronological span: most were executed between 1175 and 1275. This period seems crucial, for it encompasses the years before and after the fall of Constantinople to the West in 1204, an event long believed to have launched the first great wave of Byzantine influence in Italy. In fact the tabellone offer a particularly apt focus because the central images of the painted crosses have traditionally provided art historians with a convenient index of Byzantine influence on the Dugento. The earlier crosses invariably depict Christ as Christus Triumphans, the heroic Redeemer impervious to pain, while later crosses, especially from about 1235 on, increasingly represent the Christus Patiens, the suffering Christ long favored in the East.⁸ The primary purpose of this dissertation is, then, to test the further extension of this paradigm, applying it not to the central Crucifixus but to the flanking Passion scenes.

I hope to demonstrate several points in the process of this study. First is an often overlooked characteristic of the Dugento,

a surprising receptivity to iconographic innovation. In almost every Passion theme it will be seen that pre-Dugento crosses followed a long-established type, analogous to the Christus Triumphans in stressing the theological consequences of Christ's Passion rather than His human sufferings. Later works, however, specifically those dating from the second third of the century, almost always discard the traditional composition and replace it with a new image which is often, like the Christus Patiens, radically different from its predecessor. This almost invariable pattern of abandoning deeply entrenched formulae and substituting wholly new types reflects a zest for experimentation in a period still at times considered shackled to convention.⁹ Further, the types and motifs introduced by the Dugento often had important consequences for later iconography; they often persisted into the Trecento and Quattrocento, and occasionally even into the Cinquecento.

The next point which will emerge is more predictable, a confirmation of Demus' and Stubblebine's research: Byzantine art did indeed exert a profound influence on Dugento painting. Though this conclusion is hardly surprising, its documentation may prove worthwhile, for only rarely has the relationship between Dugento painters and their Byzantine sources been more than cursorily examined. An analysis of the precise sources of the Passion scenes in twelfth and thirteenth-century crosses will establish both the earlier artists' general unawareness of Byzantine art and the later artists' avid study of Eastern models. In many cases it will be possible to identify fairly specifically the exact type of model known to each artist. Determining the probable date and provenance of the sources of these painters

should shed some light on fundamental questions in Dugento painting--the nature of the Byzantine sources available to Tuscan artists and the process by which these artists adapted their models to their own purposes.

This study will not, however, entirely corroborate the assumptions of Stubblebine and Demus. Demus in particular credits the dramatic changes in Dugento painting almost wholly to the impact of Byzantine art. Thus he states: "an entirely new art was in the making . . . --a revolution was set off by those overpowering waves of Byzantine influence."¹⁰ Stubblebine, to an extent, concurs: he alludes to the "enormous and magnetic pull" of Byzantium and to the "exclusive domination of Constantinople" which prevailed until Duccio.¹¹

Yet the assumption that Byzantine art exerted a nearly irresistible influence on Dugento painters may somewhat overstate the case. One indication of Italian indifference to Byzantine sources is the chronological gap between the fall of Constantinople in 1204 and the widespread assimilation of Byzantine models--not evident, at least in Passion iconography, until the later 1230's and 1240's.¹² Another is the fact that not all the iconographic changes of this period reflect a Byzantine stimulus; in certain cases the new models introduced in the second third of the century and widely copied thereafter are indisputably non-Byzantine. And in still other instances Italian painters seem to experiment only briefly with a Byzantine image before reverting to traditional Italian formulae. All these points suggest that the question of Byzantine influence on the Dugento, at least on Passion iconography, is far more complex than is often assumed. I

hope to show that the relationship between Tuscan painters and their Eastern models is more than a simple matter of stimulus and response, and that on the contrary we frequently sense a discriminating and conscious selectivity on the part of these artists. In many cases Dugento painters did indeed respond wholeheartedly to the "magnetic pull" of Constantinople, but in others their enthusiasm was clearly tempered by an independence with which they are not generally credited. A final task of this study will be to consider the implications of the choices of these painters, to attempt to discover the reasons behind their choices and thus perhaps to clarify aspects of the origins of what Demus correctly calls the "entirely new art" of the Dugento.

NOTES

¹Giorgio Vasari, Lives of the Artists, trans. George Bull (Baltimore, 1965), p. 45. Vasari was actually not the first writer to condemn Byzantine art and its influence on Italian painting. Filippo Villani, writing about 1400, dismissed the Byzantinizing art of the Dugento as "dissolute and wayward," and Lorenzo Ghiberti's Commentarii echoed these sentiments:

The Greeks made a very feeble beginning in the art of painting and practiced it with great clumsiness: they were as rude and clumsy in this age as the ancient [Greeks] had been competent in theirs.

Both are cited by Erwin Panofsky, Renaissance and Renascences in Western Art (New York, 1960), pp. 14-15, p. 25. It was not until the early twentieth century that the gradual rehabilitation of Byzantine art began, and art historians came to perceive the impact of Byzantine art on the West as positive and fruitful rather than obstructionistic. On this development, see Ernst Kitzinger, "The Byzantine Contribution to Western Art of the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries," Dumbarton Oaks Papers, 20 (1966), 25-47. But the Vasarian attitude is far from extinct; it was recently resurrected by Roberto Longhi in his "Giudizio sul Duecento," Proporzione, 2 (1948), 5-30, and by Longhi's associate, Ferdinando Bologna, Early Italian Painting (Rome, 1963). Though many scholars have specifically rejected Longhi's harsh verdict (Enzo Carli, Italian Primitives: Panel Painting of the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries [New York, 1965], p. 10; Eugenio Battisti, Cimabue [University Park, 1967], p. 79, n. 1; Robert Oertel, Early Italian Painting to 1400 [New York, 1968], p. 343, n. 6) frequently even those who oppose Longhi's position do not wholly detach themselves from a Vasarian view of Byzantine art. Thus Carli describes it as "stale" (p. 12) and Oertel notes the "encroachment" of Byzantine influence (p. 38) and the "severity" (p. 43) of the style. Even among modern writers, then, vestiges of Vasari's antipathy towards Byzantine art lingers.

²Stubblebine, "Byzantine Influence in Thirteenth Century Italian Panel Painting," Dumbarton Oaks Papers, 20 (1966), 85-102; "Byzantine Sources for the Iconography of Duccio's Maestà," Art Bulletin, 57 (1975), 176-85.

³Demus, Byzantine Art and the West (New York, 1970). This pioneering work includes an exhaustive bibliography of the entire "Byzantine Question," pp. 253-66. Other scholars exploring aspects of the problem are Wolfgang Grape, Grenzprobleme der byzantinischen Malerei (Hamburg, 1973); Michael Jacoff, "Bologna, Venice and Byzantium in the Late Thirteenth Century," paper presented at the Second Annual Byzantine Studies Conference, Madison, Wisconsin, November, 13, 1976;

and Kurt Weitzmann, "The Painting of Latin Icons in the East and the maniera greca in the West," paper presented at the Fifth Annual Byzantine Studies Conference, Washington, D.C., October 28, 1979.

⁴Belting, review of Demus, Byzantine Art and the West, in Art Bulletin, 54 (1972), 544.

⁵The definitive study of the painted cross, and the only comprehensive treatment of the subject, is still Evelyn Sandberg-Vavalà, La croce dipinta italiana e l'iconografia della passione (Verona, 1929).

⁶On Giunta, see, most recently, Dino Campini, Giunta Pisano Capitani e le croci dipinte romanischi (Milan, 1966). Even before Giunta, some painted crosses followed an earlier type and depicted only the Virgin and John on the apron panels. Alberto di Sotio's Cross of 1187 (Sandberg-Vavalà, fig. 56) is the earliest dated example, but Edward B. Garrison, Italian Romanesque Panel Painting: An Illustrated Index (Florence, 1949), p. 175 (hereafter cited as Index) argues that the type appeared in the early twelfth century. Garrison's theory of the development of types, proceeding from the simplest type of cross to the historiated type, is more plausible than Sandberg-Vavalà's theory of gradual simplification. Hellmut Hager, Die Anfänge des italienischen Altarbildes (Munich, 1962), pp. 78-79, concurs with Garrison, and stresses the evolution of the painted cross from wooden and metal prototypes.

⁷The crosses, with references to Sandberg-Vavalà and Garrison's Index, are listed below. Fuller bibliography for the individual crosses treated in this study will be cited when each is discussed.

1. Gulliellmus, Cross, Sarzana, Cathedral, 1138. Sandberg-Vavalà, pp. 519-37; Index, No. 498.
2. San Michele Cross Master, Cross, Lucca, San Michele, Sandberg-Vavalà, pp. 517-537; Index, No. 504.
3. San Michele Cross Master, Cross, Lucca, Museo Civico di Villa Guinigi (formerly Lucca, Santa Maria dei Servi). Sandberg-Vavalà, pp. 517-37; Index, No. 501.
4. Florentine school, Cross, Florence, Uffizi, No. 432 (formerly Florence, Accademia). Sandberg-Vavalà, pp. 583-89; Index, No. 515.
5. Florentine school, Cross, Rosano, Santa Maria (formerly Rosano, Santissima Annunziata). Sandberg-Vavalà, pp. 578-81; Index, No. 525.
6. Pisan school, Cross, Pisa, San Frediano. Sandberg-Vavalà, pp. 573-78; Index, No. 522.
7. Pisan school, Cross, Pisa, Pinacoteca, No. 15 (formerly Pisa, San Sepolcro). Sandberg-Vavalà, pp. 593-97; Index, No. 520.

8. Pisan school, Cross, Pisa, Pinacoteca, No. 20 (formerly Pisa, San Matteo). Sandberg-Vavalà, pp. 674-81; Index, No. 521.
9. Lucchese school, Cross, Lucca, Santa Giulia. Sandberg-Vavalà, pp. 517-37; Index, No. 503.
10. Lucchese school, follower of Berlinghiero, Cross, Tereglio, Santa Maria. Sandberg-Vavalà, pp. 548-52, Index, No. 510.
11. Tressa Master, Cross, Siena, Pinacoteca, No. 597 (formerly Siena, Santa Chiara). Sandberg-Vavalà, pp. 632-35; Index, No. 527.
12. Florentine school, Cross, Florence, Uffizi, No. 434 (formerly Florence, Accademia). Sandberg-Vavalà, pp. 716-29; Index, No. 516.
13. Enrico di Tedici, Cross, Pisa, San Martino. Sandberg-Vavalà, pp. 691-96; Index, No. 524.
14. Castellare Cross Master, Cross, Pisa, Soprintendenza (formerly Castellare, Cappella). Sandberg-Vavalà, pp. 604-8; Index, No. 514.
15. Tuscan school, Cross, private collection (formerly Lucca, Tolomei Collection). Sandberg-Vavalà, pp. 602-4; Index, No. 517.
16. Coppo di Marcovaldo, Cross, San Gimignano, Pinacoteca. Sandberg-Vavalà, pp. 755-64; Index, No. 526.
17. Salerno di Coppo, Cross, Pistoia, Duomo. Sandberg-Vavalà, pp. 747-55; Index, No. 511.
18. Pisan school, Cross, Pisa, Santa Maria. Sandberg-Vavalà, pp. 606-9; Index, No. 523.
19. Pisan school, Cross, Pisa, Pinacoteca, No. 9 (formerly Pisa, San Matteo). Sandberg-Vavalà, pp. 609-10; Index, No. 512.

⁸With the exception of Pisa No. 20, the Christus Patiens is almost unknown in monumental art before the 1230's. Only in the 1240's does it appear with any degree of frequency; in all likelihood Giunta's crosses of about 1236--that for Santa Maria degli Angeli, Assisi (Index, No. 543) and the lost work donated by Brother Elias to Francis' burial church (see Oertel, p. 39)--popularized the new type. Other than the works just mentioned, the earliest extant crosses depicting the Christus Patiens all date from the 1240's (cf. Index, Nos. 483, 516, 524, 530, 572, 578).

⁹Bologna, p. 58, refers to the "uncompromising conformity" of the period; Carli, p. 10, to the "atmosphere of rigid and sterile conventions." Both echo the sentiments of Longhi, who condemned the Dugento for its "povertà iconografica" (p. 7).

¹⁰Byzantine Art and the West, p. 208.

¹¹"Byzantine Influence," pp. 97, 100.

¹²This applies both to the Christus Patiens (see note 8) and to the iconography of the individual scenes, as will be seen in subsequent chapters. Thus Demus' statement that "the radiation of Byzantine art was stronger in the first and seventh decade [of the thirteenth century] than in the time in between" (p. 207) is somewhat misleading; with respect to Passion iconography, the 1240's marked a period of unprecedented interest in Byzantine models.

CHAPTER I

THE BETRAYAL AND ARREST OF CHRIST

Though earlier episodes from the Passion cycle occasionally appear in painted crosses, the first theme to be depicted with any degree of frequency is the Betrayal and Arrest of Christ, and it is thus with this subject that this study must begin.¹ The event is described by all four evangelists, though striking differences separate the version given by the synoptics from the account by St. John. Matthew (27:47-56), Mark (14:43-53) and Luke (22:47-53) all concur on the essentials of the drama. As Christ addressed the apostles in the garden of Gethsemane, the traitor Judas, followed by a crowd of fellow conspirators, approached Christ and kissed Him, thereby revealing His identity. The crowd--Luke (47:52) identifies them more specifically as high priests and elders of the temple--then seized Christ, whereupon one of the apostles leapt to His defense by attacking the high priest's servant and severing his ear. According to Matthew (27:52), Christ reproached His defender for the assault--"all who take the sword will perish by the sword"--and according to Luke (22:51) He not only quashed the attack but healed the ear. Finally, Christ spoke briefly with His captors; the apostles then fled in fear and the mob led their prisoner away.

In John's account, on the other hand (18:1-12), it was Christ rather than Judas who took the initiative and thus precipitated the ensuing events. As Judas merely stood to one side, Christ approached the mob--now described as soldiers and officers of the Jews (18:3; 18:12)--and identified Himself; the crowd, presumably flabbergasted by

His forthright behavior, fell to the ground. The sequence described by the synoptics then followed--the apostle, here identified as Peter, again attacked the servant, now named as Malchus; Christ again admonished the apostle ("shall I not drink the cup which the Father has given Me?" [18:11]) and the crowd finally led their captive away.

The episode thus marks a critical juncture in the drama of the Passion: for the first time Christ falls into the hands of His enemies. Perhaps for this reason, if one can judge accurately from the extant painted crosses, the Betrayal was among the most commonly represented Passion scenes. Of the nineteen historiated crosses which survive intact, eleven include the scene; only the Deposition and the Entombment appear more frequently.² From about 1240 on, it almost always introduces the Passion cycle;³ the sole exception to this rule is the Florentine cross in the Uffizi, No. 434, in which the first of the tabellone depicts Christ before the Sanhedrin. Aside from Uffizi No. 434, the only thirteenth-century crosses which exclude the Betrayal predate 1240 by several decades.⁴ It would thus appear that before this point the Betrayal was viewed as non-essential, but after it was almost de rigueur; it is similarly ubiquitous in Passion cycles of other central Italian altarpieces dating from the second third of the century on.⁵

The earliest extant Betrayal is found on the first dated cross to survive: the Sarzana Cross of 1138 by the Lucchese painter Guallielmus (fig. 1).⁶ In the center of the composition stands Christ, embraced by the traitorous Judas. Judas, who approaches from the right, is seen in profile--a posture traditionally associated with evil.⁷ The only other apostle present is Peter, who kneels to the left upon Malchus and methodically severs his ear. Malchus reaches

out, beseechingly, toward Christ, who turns to Peter and reprimands the impetuous apostle for his well-meaning but ill-advised deed. Peter, puzzled but obedient, turns to acknowledge Christ's command.

All but deserted by the apostles, Christ is now surrounded by twelve helmeted, lance-carrying men, the Roman soldiers who have come to seize him. Also participating in the arrest are two stately men with elegantly coiffed beards. Their long robes suggest that they represent the Jewish elders and high priests, Judas' co-conspirators. One observes the arrest with cool detachment, while the other gestures to the left, as if urging the soldiers on.

The Betrayal occurs next some fifty or sixty years later, on the cross now in the Uffizi, No. 432 (fig. 2).⁸ Here the basic iconographic elements correspond with Gullielmus' representation, but treatment of details is considerably more expressive. Christ and Judas again occupy the center of the composition, and Judas approaches from the right, but the traitor has taken on an oily, sinister appearance; his hair is slicked back and his chin recedes sharply. Further, he has become more aggressive; Gullielmus' Judas approached Christ rather tentatively, but the Uffizi Judas thrusts himself upon his master and throws both arms around Him, seizing Him in a vehement embrace. As in Gullielmus' cross, Peter assaults Malchus in the lower left, but the attack has become more vivid and gorier; Malchus' hair bristles like the fur of a cornered animal, his eyes bulge out in horror and blood pours down his cheek. The mob, a motley band less militarily attired than before, is now more menacing; in the Sarzana Cross no one actually touched Christ, but here one soldier clutches at His mantle and two disembodied hands seize His arm. The ominous atmosphere is heightened

by a prominent array of weapons--lances, halberds, and hooks, held by unseen members of the crowd, loom above. Because night has fallen, two of the mob carry torches and another waves a lantern above the prisoner's head. A cowled high priest oversees the action to the left; to the right a dark-bearded man in a short tunic points impatiently to the right, exhorting the mob to lead Christ away.

The Betrayal on the Rosano Cross (fig. 3)⁹ seems at first glance very close to the Uffizi version, but it is both stylistically and iconographically more restrained. As in the two earlier scenes, Peter accosts Malchus in the lower left corner, and Christ reproves him for his deed with a gesture. One conspicuous variation occurs in the direction from which Judas approaches; he now comes from the left. A second change lies in the grouping, dress, and demeanor of the mob. Again the crowd is divided into two clear groups; each now forms a compact semicircle. To the left is a band of ordinary citizens; to the right, a group of Roman soldiers. Like their counterparts in the Uffizi Cross, they seize their prisoner, but they treat Him a bit more deferentially. Similarly, Judas' embrace lacks the passionate intensity of the almost serpentine Uffizi traitor, and Malchus no longer seems like a horrorstruck trapped animal; he merely submits, resigned, to the indignity of the attack. Too, Christ's gesture of admonition lacks the force of the powerful diagonal of the Uffizi Betrayal; the strength and authority of the gesture seem dissipated by the intervening figure of Judas. Thus the Rosano Betrayal is a much more subdued scene than the Uffizi version; the fiery passion seen there has tapered off to a sedate decorum.

Despite the differences in mood and detail, the essential likeness of these three examples becomes clear when one considers the next

Betrayal, that on the Lucchese cross at Tereglio (fig. 4). The Tereglio Cross is dated by Garrison 1235-45,¹⁰ some forty years after the two Florentine works; during this interval the iconography of the scene has undergone a considerable change. Christ still stands at the center of the composition, surrounded by a crowd brandishing assorted weapons; Judas, as in the Rosano Betrayal, approaches from the left. But little else remains the same. The Peter-Malchus episode, heretofore given major prominence, has all but disappeared. The two are still present, but now stand to Christ's left and thus merge visually with the crowd; even Peter's halo has vanished. Remarkably, Malchus is completely oblivious to Peter's assault; he is engrossed in the capture and lays his left hand on Christ's arm. Christ, too, ignores the episode entirely; he no longer reprimands Peter but stares calmly at Judas. Finally, the crowd is no longer subdivided into two clear groups; it is arranged in a tight semicircle interrupted only by the gold of Christ's halo.

Some of the secondary figures and details recall earlier versions of the Betrayal. As in the Uffizi Betrayal, two torches appear, held by figures at either end of the composition; the torch-bearer on the far left now bounds forward energetically. The halberds and lances wielded by the mob also resemble the Uffizi scene, and now two members of the crowd hold lanterns over Christ's head. None of the crowd, however, wears a helmet.

No less striking than the iconographic changes visible in the Tereglio Cross are the stylistic changes. The figures in the Uffizi Cross were characterized by massive heads and enormously expressive black eyes, which overpowered their other, more schematic features.

Modeling of the body was similarly minimal. The Rosano figures seemed to be a diluted version of this type--more delicate, less emphatically outlined, but morphologically very close.¹¹ But their counterparts in the Lucchese cross have changed radically. The canon of proportions is more normative, eyes are smaller and more closely defined; modeling endows the face with a clearly delineated bone structure and the body with a suggestion of three-dimensionality. Though such innovations are not original with the Tereglio painter--he derives them from Berlinghiero and his son Bonaventura¹²--they indicate the rapid stylistic evolution of Tuscan painting during the early Dugento.

The iconographic and stylistic changes apparent in the Tereglio Betrayal recur in a cross executed some twenty years later by one of the great masters of the Dugento, Coppo di Marcovaldo (San Gimignano; fig. 5). Coppo's early connections with the Lucchese school have been observed by Gertrude Coor¹³ and the striking similarities between the Tereglio and San Gimignano Betrayals confirm the debt. Iconographically the two scenes are virtually identical; in the central group of Judas advancing from the left and embracing an impassive Christ, in Peter's assault of Malchus, placed on the far right and almost unnoticeable, in Malchus' gesture of seizing Christ. Even Coppo's minor figures--the cowled, white-bearded man behind Judas and the bounding figure on the far left--seem directly comparable to their Tereglio counterparts. Only in a few details does Coppo's Betrayal differ iconographically from the Lucchese scene. Malchus has shrunk slightly and now seems an adolescent rather than a full-grown adult; the figure standing next to Peter now turns and glares at him reproachfully; the exiting figure on the left now carries a lantern. Equally similar are elements of style such as facial type and basic

drapery patterns--compare the treatment of Judas' cloak in the two works, which share even the curious loop below the arm.

Yet Coppo has done far more than present us with a carbon copy of the Lucchese Betrayal. In subtle ways he has considerably sharpened the dramatic intensity of the scene. Judas' embrace, somewhat hesitant in the Tereglio scene, has regained the fervor of the Uffizi Betrayal; the traitor hurls himself at Christ and holds Him so close that his profile obscures the right side of Christ's face. The crowd--now somewhat larger--has become more fearsome; they no longer hold their weapons quietly in tidy rows but wave them ominously in all directions. And now the angry mob completely surrounds Christ; earlier His halo formed a sort of protective barrier between Him and His captors, screening out those directly behind Him, but now they seem to close in from all sides. Coppo's characteristically expressive line further adds to the power of the scene. The spiky, staccato patterns of Judas' drapery--especially the jagged contour line of his cloak, which suggests broken glass--reinforce the viciousness of his treachery.

Clearly related to Coppo's Betrayal is the same scene on a painted cross in the Cathedral of Pistoia (fig. 6). The correspondence between the two is hardly surprising, for the cross, dated 1274-75, is documented as the work of Coppo's son Salerno.¹⁴ Many writers believe that the Pistoia Cross was executed primarily by Salerno but designed by Coppo,¹⁵ and at first glance the Pistoia Betrayal would seem to bear this out. Figure for figure the Pistoia scene echoes the San Gimignano Betrayal. Even Coppo's minor innovations--the old man glaring at Peter, the lantern-carrier to the left--recur here. It seems to me, however, that Coor is correct in her assertion that the cross

was actually designed as well as executed by Salerno.¹⁶ Despite the extremely close correspondence between the two scenes, Salerno has made subtle alterations in his father's conception of the Betrayal, alterations which dilute the scene's intensity. First, the crowd no longer completely envelopes Christ; none of the mob stands directly behind Him. As a result, He no longer seems hopelessly surrounded; the situation seems less desperate. A second modification lies in the weapons wielded by the mob. Coppo's mob waved them about, and the resulting angular patterns reinforced the tension of the arrest. In Salerno's scene Christ's captors hold their weapons upright, in orderly parallel rows. It seems unlikely that Coppo would renounce the expressionistic devices of the San Gimignano Betrayal; these changes probably reflect the gentler, less adventurous temperament of Salerno. Salerno's milder character also emerges in his style. Where Coppo's line is harsh and angular, Salerno's is softer and more cursive; the father's jagged contours rarely disturb the quieter rhythms of the son. Coppo's unruly mob is composed of stocky, assertively three-dimensional figures; Salerno's elongated, genteel aristocrats seem incapable of the violence that simmers in Coppo's throng. In each respect Salerno seems closer to the more decorous scenes of the Tereglio master than to his father's impassioned Betrayal.

Related to the Lucchese and Florentine Betrayals is a second type which emerges in Pisa around the middle of the century. Enrico di Tedice's San Martino Cross¹⁷ (fig. 7) reveals the basic characteristics of this type. As in the Lucchese and Florentine examples, Judas approaches from the left, but he is even more restrained than the Tereglio Judas; he does not kiss Christ at all, but is only beginning

his embrace. Christ's only reaction to the traitor's approach is to raise His right hand--a much less dramatic gesture than in the three earliest examples, where He flings His arm out to rebuke Peter. Peter and Malchus stand, as they do in the Tereglio Betrayal and its descendants, but here to the left rather than to the right; as a result Malchus seems to reach for Judas rather than Christ.

The crowd also reveals certain modifications of the Tereglio type. It remains one compact mass rather than two groups, but a strange stasis has overtaken it. Like automatons, its members stand motionless, perfectly erect in two parallel rows; the eyes of those in the second row loom behind the first. This rigidly ordered arrangement differs markedly from the rhythmic, semicircular grouping of the Tereglio and San Gimignano Betrayals. Further, Enrico has banished most of the secondary figures and details which enlivened the Lucchese and Florentine scenes. The cowled figure and bounding figure have disappeared; the torch-bearer remains, but carries it completely still instead of waving it about. Weapons are similarly immobile, a row of perfect verticals. Only two figures relieve the uniformity of the crowd. Both are bearded, both wear robes embellished with a lively dotted pattern. One stands between Malchus and Christ; the other, towering over most of the crowd, observes from the far right. Their elegant attire and compositional prominence suggest that they are high priests.

Enrico's composition recurs, with only minor variations, in a contemporary Pisan work, the Castellare Cross (fig. 8). Strongly related stylistically as well as iconographically to the San Martino Cross, it was formerly attributed to Enrico himself.¹⁸ In the badly

damaged crucifix, and more clearly in an identical composition by the same artist¹⁹ (fig. 9), one can observe how faithfully the Castellare Master followed Enrico's formula. Peter, Malchus, Judas and Christ, in their respective positions and actions, duplicate those in the San Martino Cross exactly; the high priest wears a similarly patterned robe, and the second row of the mob peers down in much the same way. The only variations are purely cosmetic. The crowd is slightly more animated--they stand in a very slight semicircle rather than two absolutely horizontal rows, and hold their weapons with less militaristic stiffness.

The last extant painted cross which includes a Betrayal--and one of the last of the historiated crosses--is also Pisan: the Santa Marta Cross of around 1280²⁰ (fig. 10). Although the relative positions and actions of the four main figures are derived from the Castellare and San Martino type, this version of the scene is not identical to those, as Sandberg-Vavalà claims.²¹ First, Christ does not raise His hand to greet Judas; in fact, He ignores him altogether and gazes instead at the observer. Second, the scene is considerably livelier; Judas lunges towards Christ instead of merely standing next to Him; a cowed figure grabs Christ by the back and rushes to the right; the high priest does not stand bolt upright but seems to sway. And the semicircular grouping of the crowd is as pronounced as that in Coppo's Betrayal. This final scene, then, would seem to fuse two traditions: the Pisan order of the main figures with the Lucchese and Florentine tendencies to portray Christ motionless in the midst of a semicircular, turbulent crowd.

In summary, the depiction of the Betrayal on Italian painted crosses seems to evolve in a fairly clear-cut way. The earliest examples, none dating much later than 1200, place strong emphasis on the Peter/Malchus episode, focusing attention on it both by isolating it visually from the standing crowd and by Christ's gesture of reprimand. In all of the later thirteenth-century examples, this emphasis disappears; the two antagonists stand, thus blending with the mob, and Christ ignores them altogether. A second difference lies in the treatment of the crowd; in the earliest examples, Christ's captors divide themselves into two roughly equal groups, while in the later works, they form one compact mass.

Furthermore, the later examples can be subdivided geographically. The Lucchese and Florentine versions of the scene clearly follow one line of development, the Pisan another. The two are finally fused in the Santa Marta Betrayal.

The question now becomes to determine, as precisely as possible, the reasons that the development of the scene proceeded as it did. More specifically, what role did Byzantine art play? Does the earliest version reflect an indigenous Italian tradition which was later supplanted by a Byzantine type? Or do the types represent earlier and later stages of an evolutionary process which also occurred in the East? Is the Pisan variation an Italian modification of a Byzantine type or simply a response to another sort of Byzantine model?

The Betrayal in Byzantine Art

To answer such questions requires an understanding of the iconographic development of the Betrayal in Byzantine art. Present

knowledge of the scene still owes much to the inroads made over sixty years ago by Gabriel Millet.²² Millet demonstrated that the Betrayal as it exists in Middle Byzantine art is a composite scene which fuses three episodes: the kiss of Judas, the arrest of Christ, and Peter's attack on Malchus. These episodes appear as separate scenes in Early Christian and Early Byzantine art,²³ but this approach proved impractical when pictorial space was limited. It was probably the exigencies of monumental painting that led to the conflation of the individual episodes into a single scene. This combined scene seems to have emerged rather rapidly in the ninth and early tenth centuries, presumably as a result of post-iconoclastic iconographic formulations and the development of the Middle Byzantine mosaic program.²⁴

Though the general chronological development of the Betrayal is clear, more problematic is the question of defining and clarifying the various guises under which the scene appears. Millet, and more recently, Hans Belting, have argued that two types exist, on the basis of which each has constructed a system of classification.²⁵ Neither system, however, can be consistently applied to Middle Byzantine art.²⁶ Nevertheless it is possible to distinguish modes of depicting the scene; three types were known, and each is both iconographically and conceptually distinct from the other. The first two can be traced to the pre-iconoclastic period, and it is to one or the other that the vast majority of Middle and Late Byzantine representations adhere. The third emerged only after the formulation of the composite image; though it remained extremely unusual in the East, it is of utmost importance for the development of the Betrayal in Italy.

The earliest formula is represented by a relief on a sarcophagus in Verona (fig. 11):²⁷ Christ, on the left, strides boldly toward Judas and embraces Him.²⁸ The placement of Christ on the left is significant: because a narrative sequence normally unfolds from left to right, iconographic convention generally places a figure in motion on the left, especially one who initiates an action.²⁹ Thus Christ's position on the left implies that it was He who approached the traitor and thus set into motion the events which would follow--a conception of the Betrayal which strongly recalls St. John's account in tone if not in particulars. This suggestion of Christ's willing participation in the arrest is further reinforced by His energetic stride and by the outstretched right arm with which He embraces His betrayer. The Early Christian composition, then, seems designed to stress the voluntary nature of Christ's sacrifice: by seizing the initiative and freely embracing Judas He seems, by implication, to embrace His role as Redeemer as well. This emphasis on the positive aspects of Christ's sacrificial death is, of course, fully consistent with Early Christian attitudes toward the Passion; the early church almost invariably viewed Christ in death as triumphant savior rather than suffering victim.³⁰ For this reason it is not surprising that the vast majority of Early Christian Betrayals similarly place Christ on the left, freely approaching the traitor.³¹ Though He generally embraces Judas, in one variant, seen in the Rabula Gospels (fol. 12r.; fig. 12),³² He raises His right hand in a gesture of speech; according to both Matthew (26:50) and Luke (22:48), He spoke to Judas at the moment of the kiss.

In the second mode of representing the Betrayal, these suggestions of Christ as heroic Redeemer are far less pronounced. An early

example of the new formula appears at Sant'Apollinare Nuovo, Ravenna (fig. 13).³³ Now it is Judas who is placed on the left, who marches purposefully forward, who extends his arm in an embrace. Consistent with the shift in the position of Christ is His new stance: the assertive striding pose seen earlier has been discarded, and the newly passive figure merely stands motionless, gazes distantly and submits to the overtures of the traitor. Though the mosaicist compensates in certain respects for the change in Christ's demeanor--Christ is noticeably taller than His adversary and the soldiers to the left, and the apostles on the right have not yet deserted Him--the new image nonetheless presents a noticeably different conception of Christ at this crucial moment; the early implications of willing and heroic self-sacrifice are beginning to yield to suggestions of a newly human Christ who accepts His fate but, understandably, no longer embraces it.

Middle Byzantine art saw the continuation of both formulae as well as the emergence of the third. The third type is conceptually, and to an extent iconographically, related to the heroic Redeemer of the sarcophagi, and can perhaps best be approached by examining Middle Byzantine descendants of that archetype. Certain instances, as in the well-known Gospel book in Florence (fol. 55r.; fig. 14),³⁴ are almost identical to the Early Christian reliefs in the placement, stance and gestures of the protagonists.³⁵ In others, such as that in the Theodore Psalter (fol. 45v.; fig. 15),³⁶ Christ's placement on the left and striding stance recall the earliest images, but His gesture suggests derivation from a composition like that in the Rabula Gospels (fig. 12). The gesture of speech was especially favored in the eastern provinces of the empire, most notably Cappadocia; a fresco at

Qaranleq, c. 1200-10, is characteristic (fig. 16).³⁷ The gesture, especially as it appears at Qaranleq, is significant, for it will bring us ultimately to the third iconographic type. The gesture in the Theodore Psalter (fig. 15) and in the Rabula Gospels (fig. 12) is clearly directed to Judas and presumably alludes to Christ's greeting to the traitor. But at Qaranleq, Christ ignores Judas and turns His glance instead to Peter, who is about to amputate Malchus' ear. Here, then, the gesture seems to refer to Christ's words of admonition to His apostle, whom He ordered to desist: "Put your sword into its sheath; shall I not drink the cup which the Father has given me?" (John 18:11). Thus at Qaranleq, the suggestion of Christ's voluntary participation in the arrest, implicit in His placement on the left, is made more explicit by the emphasis on His command to Peter, by which He signalled His intention to cooperate with His captors, to "drink the cup" given Him by His father.

But the expression of Christ's rebuke to Peter is most emphatic in the third iconographic type, represented by a Cypriot fresco in St. Neophytos near Ktima, c. 1190 (fig. 17).³⁸ Again Christ is placed on the left, but now no ambiguity clouds the meaning of the gesture: He flings His arm toward Peter in an unequivocal command to halt, and Peter turns to heed his master's words. In this image, then, Christ is perhaps most obviously depicted as the assertive and resolute Savior, who forcefully quells any resistance to His captors and thus any interference with the completion of His divine mission.

But this image is hardly characteristic of Middle Byzantine art; only a handful of instances survive.³⁹ The apparent lack of interest in the type is not surprising; the post-iconoclastic period typically

stressed Christ's humanity, and human sufferings, during the Passion rather than His heroic and willing self-sacrifice.⁴⁰ Suggestions of a more human Christ were already felt in the Ravenna mosaic (fig. 13), in which a passive Christ, now shifted to the right, accepts Judas' kiss but does nothing to initiate it, and it is to this prototype that most Middle Byzantine representations return.⁴¹ Examples of the type abound; among them are a fresco in a recently discovered chapel in Cappadocia, Göreme 15a (fig. 18),⁴² the mosaic at Daphni (fig. 19),⁴³ and miniatures in the Morgan Lectionary (fol. 268v.; fig. 20),⁴⁴ the Dionysiou Lectionary (fol. 104v.; fig. 21)⁴⁵ and a Gospel book in Rome (fol. 194v.; fig. 22).⁴⁶

Not only is this type preponderant in Middle Byzantine art, the period also developed secondary iconographic changes which further heighten the suggestion of Christ as human victim. Especially telling are the modifications in the treatment of Christ's captors. When they begin to appear they seem to pose little immediate threat to Christ: at Ravenna, for instance (fig. 13), only a handful of soldiers are present, all are considerably shorter than Christ, and they are confined to the far left corner of the composition. Further, the apostles remain on hand to provide at least the illusion of possible defense; Peter already reaches for his sword. But by the early tenth century, as in the fresco at Göreme (fig. 18), the situation has become more ominous. The apostles have been banished; now a throng of soldiers appears, and they no longer stand discreetly to one side but swarm about, beginning to close in on their quarry. Some bound forward in their eagerness to take their prisoner. Only Christ's greater height--He remains noticeably taller than His adversaries--seems to provide a

measure of protection; He does not yet seem to be entirely overpowered by the mob. The final phase in the evolution of the crowd is represented by Vat. gr. 1156 (fig. 22). Now their ranks have swollen even further: a virtual battalion, heavily armed, presses in from all sides and completely surrounds the prisoner. Now Christ relinquishes even the advantage of greater height. He seems entirely at the mercy of the horde; there is no hope of escape.

An analogous iconographic change, which developed at about the same time, similarly intensifies this sense of Christ's plight. This change concerns not the mob as a whole but two important participants in the scene, Peter and Malchus. The episode of Peter's attack at first plays a fairly prominent role in the Middle Byzantine composition. At times Peter and Malchus stand somewhat apart from the mob in reminder of the motif's earlier autonomous existence.⁴⁷ Even when they are placed closer to the mob, they often remain distinct from it because of their pose: both assailant and victim sit or kneel (as in Vat. gr. 1156, fig. 22, or a Gospel book in Paris, fol. 118v., fig. 23⁴⁸). Too, Malchus generally struggles and flails about, thus further drawing attention to the incident.

But during the eleventh century, and possibly earlier, Peter's valiant act of defense is increasingly deemphasized. An early indication of the change appears at Nea Moni, Chios, in the 1050's (fig. 24).⁴⁹ First, here both apostle and servant stand, so that they begin to merge with the crowd behind them. Second, Malchus here seems completely unaware of Peter's attack, and no longer struggles to extricate himself. Both Peter and Malchus are somewhat shorter than the members of the mob, however, so that the incident is still easily discernible.

Too, Christ here raises His hand in speech, presumably to reproach Peter for his attack and possibly to restore the severed ear. In the Theodore Psalter of 1066 (fig. 15), the episode has been further subsumed into the composition: Malchus now takes an active role in the arrest, grabbing Christ by the shoulder. Only the fact that Peter stands slightly apart from the mob makes the pair at all conspicuous. In a Gospel book in Parma of the late eleventh century (fol. 90r.; fig. 25),⁵⁰ the process has reached its final stage. The apostle now joins the compact semi-circle of the crowd, and to ensure that he merges fully with the mob, he has even been stripped of his halo.

Thus the episode, once of major importance, has almost faded from view; in most Byzantine Betrayals of the later eleventh and twelfth centuries it is similarly insignificant, absorbed into the rhythm of the mob.⁵¹ By deemphasizing--nearly eradicating--the sole act of defense in Christ's behalf, the new image clearly reinforces the suggestions of Christ's vulnerability at the hands of His captors. But it also removes any reference to Christ's stirring words to Peter, and thus to His free acceptance of His fate. This formulation, in which Judas approaches from the left, the crowd completely envelops Christ and the episode of Peter and Malchus has all but vanished, represents the last stage in the evolution of the theme in Middle Byzantine art.⁵² The decisive Savior seen in the sarcophagi (fig. 11) and the St. Neophytos fresco (fig. 17) has here metamorphosed into an overpowered victim who submits to an inevitable fate but does nothing that would accelerate its fulfillment.

The Betrayal in Italian Painting

The Twelfth-century Crosses

With some understanding of the iconographic development of the Betrayal in Byzantine painting, it now becomes possible to return to the theme in painted crosses and to assess the sources of each version. It was seen earlier that the three twelfth-century crosses--those at Sarzana, Florence and Rosano--are, at least loosely, iconographically related: all emphasize Christ's forthright injunction to Peter. The type is now recognizable as the third Byzantine formula, that seen at St. Neophytos (fig. 17). But the ultimate Eastern parentage of the image need not suggest that Gullielmus and his followers had direct contact with Byzantine sources; on the contrary, the type had been introduced to the West, and specifically to Italy, at least two centuries earlier. In the Betrayal in a South Italian fresco cycle in the Basilica dei SS. Martiri, Cimitile (fig. 26), dated by Belting c. 900-910,⁵³ the identical model appears: Christ, placed on the left, ignores the advances of Judas and instead turns to halt Peter's attack on Malchus. The fresco--one of the earliest extant composite versions of the Betrayal--may well, as Belting proposes, stem from a Roman prototype;⁵⁴ Belting posits a similar source for the clearly related miniature in the Egbert Codex (fol. 79v; fig. 27).⁵⁵ Whatever his immediate source, the Cimitile painter was hardly alone in his enthusiasm for the type; later Italian artists, especially those working in South Italy, were notably receptive to his example.⁵⁶ A Cassinese breviary of 1099-1105, now in Paris (fol. 24r; fig. 28),⁵⁷ must derive from a similar model; it recurs at Monreale (fig. 29)⁵⁸ and in Sardinia.⁵⁹ A curious variant, seen in an Exultet Roll from Fondi, 1117-30 (fig. 30),⁶⁰ and later in the north,

at San Marco in Venice (fig. 31),⁶¹ also reflects the type in the placement and gestures of Peter and Malchus and in Christ's gesture of rebuke. Christ, however, has been placed on the right, recalling the passive victim at Ravenna (fig. 13) and in most Middle Byzantine formulations (figs. 19-22); thus Christ's right arm has been extended behind Judas' back, muting the force of the command.⁶²

The Cimitile type thus had a considerable impact upon the iconography of the Betrayal in Italy; with only a few exceptions, Italian painters of the eleventh and twelfth centuries similarly emphasize Christ's gesture of admonition in representations of the theme.⁶³ Not only does the image become characteristic of Italian painting, it becomes characteristic only of Italy: despite its early appearance in the Egbert Codex (fig. 27), most Northern artists adhere to other patterns to depicting the scene.⁶⁴ Thus Gulliellmus and his successors who created the Uffizi and Rosano Crosses followed in their Betrayals an iconographic type which was not only long established in Italy but favored only in Italy; in all likelihood they drew their inspiration directly from Italian predecessors. An examination of secondary aspects of each panel--details such as the exact positions of the protagonists, the arrangement of the mob and the specific identity of its members--will corroborate this assumption.

The Sarzana Cross

This reliance on Italian prototypes, not only in the general iconographic pattern but in specific details, can be easily demonstrated in the case of Gulliellmus's Betrayal (fig. 1). The precise stances of Christ, Peter and Malchus, for instance, all find their

closest precedents in earlier Italian, especially South Italian, versions of the theme. Thus the exact pose of Christ differs from extant Byzantine Betrayals in which Christ rebukes Peter. There, as in the fresco at St. Neophytos (fig. 17), Christ's stance is essentially frontal; He does not actually turn toward Peter and Malchus but only gestures in their direction, gazing abstractly ahead.⁶⁵ But Gulliellmus heightens the impact of the gesture by shifting Christ's glance to the left so that He confronts Peter directly. Just this sense of direct confrontation was seen earlier at Cimitile (fig. 26).⁶⁶ Possibly also indigenous to Italy--again, South Italy specifically--is the particular force with which Peter pins Malchus, planting his knee on the hapless servant.⁶⁷ Peter restrains his victim in just this fashion in earlier Italian versions such as that in the Fondi Exultet (fig. 30), and this ingenious hold remains popular in Italy.⁶⁸ Byzantine artists, however, generally avoided subjecting Malchus to this indignity; even when Peter kneels, as in Paris suppl. gr. 27 (fig. 23), he is usually placed behind, not upon, the servant.

Also far more common in the West than in the East is Malchus' gesture: palm outstretched, he entreats Christ for help. In Byzantine versions Malchus may struggle (as in Vat. gr. 1156, fig. 22), but the supplicating pose is most unusual.⁶⁹ It does appear, however, at Cimitile (fig. 26), and it was presumably a descendant of this sort of model which influenced Gulliellmus. One other detail points still more strongly to a South Italian prototype: the precise configuration of Peter and Malchus. In extant Byzantine Betrayals Peter invariably attacks Malchus from behind (cf. figs. 14-17, 19-25). But in Gulliellmus' panel the apostle, in perhaps more sporting fashion, originally

faced his adversary, though now he turns away to heed Christ's command. The only antecedent for this arrangement known to me occurs in a Cassinese manuscript, the Mazarene Breviary of the early twelfth century (fig. 28).

An examination of the members of the mob further indicates the non-Byzantine nature of Gulliellmus' source. The crowd in the Sarzana panel consists of helmeted soldiers supervised by two cowled priests. Neither soldiers in military gear nor priests commonly appear in Byzantine Betrayals, though scriptural justification exists for the presence of both;⁷⁰ Christ's captors in Byzantine versions generally wear only the short tunics of the populace.⁷¹ Italian artists, on the other hand, apparently preferred a less homogeneous mix for the mob. At least one or two soldiers appear in many earlier Italian Betrayals; in the St. Albans Psalter (fol. 42; fig. 32), which in all likelihood reflects a South Italian model,⁷² an entire phalanx of soldiers, wearing pointed helmets much like those in Gulliellmus' panel, observes the proceedings. And priests participate fairly frequently in the arrest, especially in South Italy, as in the fresco at Sant'Angelo in Formis (fig. 33)⁷³ and the Mazarene Breviary (fig. 28).

Thus the Sarzana Betrayal, taken as a whole, strongly suggests that Gulliellmus relied extensively on South Italian prototypes; some now-lost conflation of the Cimitile fresco, the Mazarene Breviary and the Albani Master's model would account for virtually every aspect of his composition. His probable dependence on such a source is not surprising; stylistic ties with Montecassino have already been proposed,⁷⁴ and the documented association between Montecassino and Lucca in the late eleventh century would explain the process of transmission.⁷⁵

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A similar amalgamation of South Italian sources--conceivably transmitted to Florence from nearby Lucca⁷⁶--probably lies behind the Betrayal in the Uffizi Cross (fig. 2). The closest parallels, in fact, are with the Cimitile fresco (fig. 26): compare Christ's position, especially the tilt of His head; Judas' exuberant embrace; the mob's height, slightly shorter than Christ; the orderly arrangement of weapons held straight overhead. Even stylistic details such as the hydrocephalic proportions, the bulging, flashing eyes, and the penchant for windswept drapery, show a surprising degree of correlation. It seems unnecessary to trace this expressive drama to Syrian or Armenian miniatures, as a number of scholars have,⁷⁷ when both style and iconography closely resemble a monument on Italian soil. This is not to suggest that our painter knew the Cimitile fresco specifically, only that he had come into contact with one of its descendents.

This model, or perhaps other sources, might well have been South Italian, for many details can be traced to Cassinese painting. From Sant'Angelo (fig. 33) or a related work our painter appropriated the position of Malchus: now, in contrast to Gulliellmus' panel, he faces the left-hand corner and thus does not appeal for help. More unusual are two other details which also recur at Sant'Angelo; first, the lantern-bearer, stationed immediately to the left of Christ, who seizes Christ with his right hand (cf. also the Fondi Exultet, fig. 30), and second, the lively dotted pattern of Christ's mantle. The priest who stands to the far left and gestures occurs both at Sant'Angelo and in the Mazarine Breviary (fig. 28); in the Breviary the priest, like his counterpart in the Uffizi scene, is cowed. And both the Breviary and

the Uffizi Cross depict, in the middle of the right-hand group, a bearded figure wearing an oddly cascading kerchief seen earlier at Daphni (fig. 19).

Another detail, though not found in extant Cassinese painting, does occur in other South Italian monuments. The soldier to the far right wears a helmet and cloak like those worn by the corresponding figure in the Fondi Exultet (fig. 30) and at Monreale (fig. 29). Finally, one motif appears not in the south but the north: the pointing gesture of the soldier at the right recalls the scroll-bearing priest at San Marco (fig. 31). Again, then, the scene owes virtually every detail to an earlier Italian source; what is Byzantine is, at best, second-hand.

The Rosano Cross

The Rosano Betrayal (fig. 3), related generally to the Sarzana and Uffizi versions in Christ's gesture of admonition, nevertheless differs from the earlier crosses in the placement of Judas, who now enters from the left. This unusual fusion of the Ravenna formula (fig. 13) and the assertive rebuking Christ favored in Italy requires the artist to extend Christ's right hand behind Judas--a curious juggling of form that strongly recalls the Fondi Exultet (fig. 30) and the San Marco mosaic (fig. 31).⁷⁸ The treatment of Peter and Malchus is also very similar in the three works; all return to the Cimitile prototype (fig. 26). In details, the Rosano scene resembles the mosaic far more closely than the manuscript: in the division of the mob into two semicircular groups, that on the right more compact than that on the left;⁷⁹ in the gesture of the thug on the left who reaches for

Christ's right wrist; in the position of Christ's left arm, which holds a scroll in both works.

The Florentine painter does not, however, follow the San Marco model--or, more likely, their common source--slavishly. One point of difference suggests that he misunderstood his model: Judas' left hand dangles limply under his chin, whereas at San Marco it is logically placed on Christ's shoulder.⁸⁰ Other minor changes, such as composing the right hand group entirely of soldiers or equipping Malchus with a sword, reflect our painter's awareness of other sources.⁸¹ And stylistically, the Rosano Betrayal shares nothing with the San Marco scene; the chunky creatures who populate the Rosano Cross contrast markedly with the elongated aristocrats of San Marco. But these differences do not conceal the compelling iconographic similarities between the two works. The panel painter and the mosaicist indisputably worked from a very similar model, ultimately derived from something like the Fondi Exultet.

The Thirteenth-century Crosses

The Tereglio Cross

Thus, in each of these three painted crosses, the Betrayal derives iconographically from an Italian source. In no case is there any reason to suspect direct contact with a Byzantine model. But the picture shifts radically with the next example, the Lucchese cross at Tereglio, c. 1235-45 (fig. 4). The considerable changes--the omission of Christ's gesture of rebuke, the new placement and posture of Peter and Malchus--cannot be explained by any extant Italian Betrayal.⁸² Between 1200 and 1235 a new type has been introduced to Italy, and this type must come from Byzantium. The basic elements of the scene--

Judas approaching from the left, Christ impassive and still--conform to the most common version of the scene in Constantinople (figs. 19-21). The semicircular configuration of the mob is the standard treatment in metropolitan painting by the mid-eleventh century (figs. 15, 21-23); by this time Peter and Malchus often stand and Malchus frequently seizes Christ, as in the Tereglia Betrayal. The placement of Peter and Malchus to the right specifically recalls the Dionysiou Lectionary of 1059 (fig. 21). In fact, many details are common to the cross and the lectionary. In both, Christ's halo extends above the circling throng and shields Him from being completely surrounded--a rather conservative treatment generally abandoned in Constantinople by 1100. And in both, the specific composition of the mob is surprisingly similar. Both begin with a bounding figure who wears an uncommon type of tunic--a wide border at the neck and knotted sash at the chest distinguish it from the more usual unadorned version. Next, in both, is a partially concealed head, then two bearded figures to the left of Judas. On the other side of Judas and Christ one encounters, in both, Malchus, an intervening head, and Peter. Despite differences, it is not difficult to envision a model for the Tereglia Betrayal which closely resembled the Dionysiou Lectionary. It seems likely that this model, like the lectionary, duplicated a type current in mid-eleventh century Constantinople.⁸³

The San Gimignano and Pistoia Crosses

Closely related to the Tereglia Betrayal are two Florentine versions of the scene: one by Coppo, in his San Gimignano Cross (fig. 5), the other by his son, Salerno, in the Pistoia Cross (fig. 6). Though

Coppo's scene is iconographically almost identical to the Lucchese Betrayal, a few details differ: these suggest the painter's awareness of a different Byzantine source. First, Malchus is now a bit shorter than before--a conservative treatment reminiscent of the Daphni mosaic (fig. 19), where the servant also appeared as an adolescent. But other details suggest that Coppo's model was later--or at least more progressive--than the one reflected in the Tereglio scene. First, the mob now completely encircles Christ; newly vulnerable, He is no longer shielded by His halo. This represents, in Byzantine iconography, the final stage in the evolution of the mob, which had emerged by the seventh decade of the eleventh century (fig. 15). Another detail not present in the Tereglio Betrayal is the figure glowering at Peter. This sort of individual characterization of the minor figures is another progressive device absent in earlier examples (fig. 18) but known in Constantinople from the mid-eleventh century (fig. 21). One last feature does not appear, to my knowledge, in Byzantine art until the mid-twelfth century; the bounding lantern-carrier on the extreme left. The only instances of this unusual motif known to me are found in two works of the second half of the twelfth century: a Serbian fresco at Djurdjeri Stupovi, c. 1168 (fig. 34)⁸⁴ and the strongly Byzantinizing miniature in the Hortus Deliciarum, executed between 1167 and 1195.⁸⁵ Coppo, then, was probably in contact with a new Byzantine model, one apparently unknown to the Tereglio painter. Details like the treatment of the crowd suggest that his source may have been more recent than the one available in Lucca; the presence of the lantern-bearer may indicate a date in the later twelfth century. Salerno, on the other hand, added nothing new to his father's imagery.

Only in his handling of the mob did he deviate from Coppo's work; the two semicircular groups that he employed probably revert to a model like the Rosano Betrayal.

The San Martino, Castellare and Santa Marta Crosses

Pisan versions of the Betrayal--those in Enrico de Tedice's San Martino Cross (fig. 7), the Castellare Cross (fig. 8) and the Santa Marta Cross (fig. 10)--differ in several respects from the Lucchese and Florentine types. The two later examples to a large degree reflect Enrico's; thus his Betrayal bears closest scrutiny. In several respects this work stands apart from the iconographic mainstream. First, Peter and Malchus stand on the left side of the composition rather than the right; because Judas is also placed on the left, the servant reaches incongruously for Judas rather than Christ. Second, Christ gestures in a way heretofore most uncommon in Italian painting: instead of the dramatic gesture of admonition, He simply raises His hand in the greeting position reminiscent of the Rabula Gospels (fig. 12) and its descendents. Equally unusual is the arrangement of the mob in two parallel rows so that only the eyes in the second row are visible. Further, the crowd is remarkably static: no one touches Christ, no one even stirs. This lethargy, which extends even to Judas, contrasts vividly with the animation of most earlier examples. Finally, two imposing figures are prominently displayed: on the far right, an exceptionally tall high priest in patterned robes; on the left, between Malchus and Judas, a dark-bearded man is in a tunic of the same pattern. A high priest was seen on the right in the Sarzana Betrayal but did not appear there later; the corresponding figure is unprecedented in Italian painting.

No single extant Eastern version of the Betrayal corresponds exactly to Enrico's scene. One antecedent, however, may have resembled that in the Constantinopolitan lectionary, Morgan 639 (fig. 20). Weitzmann has already stressed the iconographic anomalies of the framed pictures of this manuscript, and as to the Betrayal, notes that "in the rather numerous examples of this theme in Middle Byzantine art none corresponds exactly with that of the Morgan miniature."⁸⁶ But the unusual features of the Morgan scene do recur in Enrico's version: in both works Malchus accosts not Christ but Judas, because Christ stands on the right, and in both the mob stands in two straight lines. The presence of these two exceptional features in both works is unlikely to be fortuitous; Enrico must have appropriated them from a model very close to the Morgan manuscript.

Another Eastern Betrayal which also seems particularly close to Enrico's is not Constantinopolitan but provincial: the Cappadocian fresco in Qaranleq Kilisse (fig. 16), dated 1200-10. In both Christ raises His hand to gesture but does not point specifically to Peter; the meaning of the gesture is thus somewhat ambiguous. More unusual, and common to both works, is the extreme torpor, verging on paralysis, which has afflicted all the participants. In neither version of the scene does Judas stride energetically towards Christ; instead, he simply stands next to Him. The mob is similarly motionless. Most interesting, though, is the conspicuous presence in the fresco of two priests. Just as in Enrico's Betrayal, the one to the right is unusually tall, even noticeably taller than Christ; the one to the left, who in both stands between the two principal pairs of figures, in both appears in profile, has dark hair and beard, and wears a patterned

garment. None of the figures wears any sort of headgear, though a turban or cowl is a customary attribute of a high priest in both Italian and Byzantine art. Even stylistic details found in Enrico's scene recall the Cappadocian work: the heavy black outline encasing the figures, the sketchy system of white highlights, and especially the curiously schematic, geometric treatment of drapery--note in both the triangular form of the lower right half of Malchus' tunic. Both Lasareff and Carli have, in fact, called attention to "provincial" qualities in the San Martino Cross; Carli specifically relates the cross to Cappadocian painting.⁸⁷ It seems plausible, then, that Enrico borrowed aspects of his Betrayal from monastic or provincial sources. Perhaps a provincial work, some curious conflation of the Morgan miniature with the Cappadocian fresco, lies behind Enrico's singular composition.⁸⁸

The Castellare Master's Betrayal (fig. 8), as noted above, deviates only slightly from Enrico's formulation. The Santa Marta Cross (fig. 10) of around 1280 also betrays a debt to Enrico in the order of the four main figures; again Malchus stands next to Judas rather than Christ. But, as in the Lucchese and Florentine traditions, Christ's gesture has been altogether eliminated, and the mob, now semicircular, has shaken off its earlier torpor. This eclectic painter, then, has superimposed typically Florentine features upon a basically Pisan composition. Perhaps his Florentine source was Salerno's Pistoia Cross, executed five or six years earlier; Coor has already suggested that the Santa Marta Cross derives from Salerno's.⁸⁹

Conclusions

In conclusion, the iconography of the Betrayal as it appears on painted crosses clarifies, at least to some extent, our understanding of Byzantine influence on the Dugento. The principal findings of the study can be summarized as follows. First, in the earliest representations of the Betrayal one finds no evidence whatsoever of direct contact with Byzantine art. If the type seen on the Sarzana Cross and Uffizi Cross is ultimately Eastern, it had nevertheless been transmitted to Italy over two hundred years before it was repeated by Gullielmus. The situation changes radically in the early Dugento: the Betrayal on the Lucchese cross at Tereglio reveals recent exposure to Byzantine sources, most likely some version of a mid-eleventh century type. Coppo di Marcovaldo relied on a related model, but probably a more recent version, conceivably of the later twelfth century. Pisan crosses around the middle of the century also suggest contact with the East, but here the source was probably not metropolitan; iconographic idiosyncrasies of the San Martino Betrayal especially recall Cappadocian versions of the scene.

For the most part these findings are compatible with currently accepted notions about the patterns of Byzantine influence. Most writers agree that its "first wave" dates from the early decades of the Dugento, when Byzantine manuscripts and icons inundated Italy in the wake of the Fourth Crusade. Lucca was among the centers most receptive to these new models, as the work of the Berlinghieri family demonstrates.⁹⁰ Thus the appearance of a purely metropolitan Betrayal in a Lucchese cross of the 1230's or 40's is more than understandable; it is almost predictable. And the adoption of a closely related type

by Coppo di Marcovaldo and his son Salerno is also to be expected; Coppo's debt to Byzantium has long been acknowledged.⁹¹ It is significant, though, that Coppo's source differed slightly from the Lucchese version; conceivably a more recent model was available to him. This possibility coincides with a theory recently proposed by Stubblebine and Demus, that the chronological gap between Dugento painters and their Byzantine sources gradually decreased.⁹² Finally, the detection of provincial elements in Pisan iconography meshes with observations of Lazareff and Carli, both of whom perceived an East Christian flavor in the work of Enrico di Tedice.

Though these results accord with currently held beliefs, it should be stressed that they provide specific documentation for theories which often have not been substantiated with concrete examples. Despite their intuitive understanding of the "provincial" or "popular" qualities of Enrico di Tedice's cross, neither Lasareff nor Carli adduced specific examples to clarify the relationship.⁹³ And even the frequent references to "Neo-hellenistic" influence in Lucchese and Florentine painting are only rarely accompanied by relevant examples of comparative material.⁹⁴

One surprising fact will, however, result from a brief look at later Dugento versions of the Betrayal: most of them, even when closely related to Byzantine sources in other respects, do not follow the Lucchese painter, Coppo and Salerno in their acceptance of the usual Middle Byzantine type. Instead, they retain the traditionally Italian scheme in which Christ admonishes Peter. Examples include a panel by Guido da Siena from the Badia Ardenga altarpiece, a mosaic in the Baptistery of Florence, a Cimabuesque fresco in the Upper Church of

San Francesco, Assisi, and an Umbrian altarpiece in Perugia.⁹⁵ The Assisi fresco (fig. 35) is clearly related to a Byzantine model like a miniature in a Gospel book in Berlin (fol. 89r.; fig. 36);⁹⁶ the treatment of the mob is almost identical, even to the soldier seen from the back and the Byzantine helmet types used by both artists.⁹⁷ But the Italian painter depicts Christ rebuking Peter exactly as it appeared on the Rosano Cross (fig. 3). In this respect, then, later Dugento artists reveal an interesting streak of independence: despite their general fascination with Byzantine painting, in certain cases they remain unswayed by iconographic types current in Constantinople and choose, instead, an image long established in Italy.⁹⁸

This reassertion of the traditional Italian version of the theme raises a question that will recur throughout this study. Can one determine the reasons for the Italian preference for a given iconographic type? To be more specific, in the case of the Betrayal, why does the rebuking Christ become so deeply entrenched in Italian iconography? What explains the mid-Dugento painters' receptivity to their Byzantine models beyond the mere availability of these models? Why, finally, was the popularity of the Byzantine type of such short duration?

Though answers to such questions generally defy conclusive proof, it may be worthwhile to consider possible explanations. First, the original appeal of the rebuking Christ to Italian artists and their theological advisors may be linked with the prominence given St. Peter. In other cases as well Western iconographic patterns stress Peter's preeminence among the apostles and especially Christ's instructions to him;⁹⁹ if the type first took hold in Rome, as Belting

maintains, the emphasis on the local patron, father of the Popes, would be seen more readily understandable. Perhaps it is not coincidental that St. Peter was also especially venerated in South Italy, where the type was widely diffused, and in Lucca, the Tuscan center where it first appears.¹⁰⁰

Also worth considering, however, are the theological implications of the type and their relevance to Italy. As stated above, the emphasis given Christ's gesture explicitly reminds the viewer that Christ willingly yielded to His captors, and thus to His father's plan to redeem humanity. The association between this episode and the ultimate salvation of mankind--already implicit in the text of St. John--did not escape Western theologians; such influential thinkers as Alcuin and Hrabanus Maurus viewed Malchus' severed and restored ear as symbolic of the spiritual healing of all mankind through Christ's death and resurrection.¹⁰¹ The preference for an image in which these reverberations of Christ's ultimate victory are so strongly felt is fully characteristic of Italy: Italian artists generally clung to iconographic types which depict Christ as triumphant Savior rather than suffering human far longer than their Northern counterparts. Thus the Christus Patiens, predominant in Byzantium from the ninth century on and widespread in Northern Europe not long after,¹⁰² meets considerable resistance in Italy; not until the thirteenth century does the image displace the Christus Triumphans. The final discarding of the rebuking Christ on painted crosses beginning in the 1230's and 1240's--exactly the time that the Christus Patiens began to supplant the Triumphans¹⁰³--thus suggests a fundamental change in attitude toward Christ's Passion, and this change, like the adaptation of the

Christus Patiens, very likely results from the revolutionary thought of St. Francis.¹⁰⁴ The Poverello is generally credited with popularizing in Italy a new devotion to the Passion which concentrates less on its eternal meaning than on the suffering which Christ endured; even a decade or two after his death in 1226 the impact of his thought was widely felt.¹⁰⁵ Thus the new image of a passive Christ, surrounded by enemies, meekly accepting Judas' embrace, indisputably reflects a Byzantine model, but the spiritual climate which allowed the acceptance of the new image very probably stems from the influence of St. Francis.

The degree to which the new image conforms to Franciscan attitudes toward the Passion can best be seen by consulting Franciscan writings on the Betrayal. Perhaps most revealing are readings from the Office of the Passion written by St. Francis himself.¹⁰⁶ The Office is composed largely of verses from various psalms; the readings for the Compline of Holy Thursday, the night on which "our Lord Jesus Christ was betrayed and taken prisoner,"¹⁰⁷ suggest the overpowered victim of the mid-century Betrayal far more than the assertive miracle-worker of earlier representations:

All my foes whisper together against me (40:8). . .
 They repaid me evil for good and hatred for my love (108:5). . .
 My holy father. . . be near, for I have no one to help me (21:12)
 My friends and my companions stand back because of my affliction
 (37:12)

You have taken my friends away from me; you have made me an
 abomination to them; I am imprisoned, and I cannot escape
 (87:9).¹⁰⁸

This poignant image of a man deserted by his friends, a prisoner with no hope of escape, clearly evokes the new iconographic type in which the episode of Peter and Malchus is almost imperceptible and Christ seems at the mercy of the mob (figs. 4-10); the earlier type, in which Peter conspicuously leaps to Christ's defense, seems hardly relevant to Francis' vision of the prisoner who has "no one to help" Him.

Franciscan monks active later in the thirteenth century develop Francis' imagery still further. Thus Pseudo-Bede's De meditatione passionis Christi per septem diei horas libellus, which is probably a Franciscan text of the second third of the century,¹⁰⁹ writes more explicitly of the Betrayal in the meditation for Compline. Like Francis Pseudo-Bede omits any mention of Peter's valiant act of resistance. Instead, he emphasizes the apostles' flight, which he discusses at surprising length, and then concludes:

O how often they look back, seeing how their Lord is tied and dragged away without honor. . . .O Lord Jesus. . . . you went among wolves and most evil dogs took hold of you, and you did not cry out but like an innocent lamb went to death.¹¹⁰

Again, then, Christ is seen as a helpless captive, abandoned by friends surrounded by enemies--exactly as He appears in contemporary representations of the scene (figs. 4-10). In both the texts and images of the mid-Dugento the heroic Savior who forcefully admonished Peter and restored Malchus' ear has been replaced by this powerless victim. Thus though the mid-century iconographic type derives from a Byzantine model, this model was probably adopted less because of the "magnetic pull of Byzantium"¹¹¹ than because it corresponded so aptly to the interpretation of the Betrayal favored by St. Francis and his followers.

But if the mid-Dugento type seems to reflect the prevailing Franciscan conception of the Betrayal, it may have been a shift in this conception which prompted the resurrection, later in the century, of the older type in which Peter rebukes Peter for his attack (fig. 35). The return to this type suggests a certain conservatism, a wish to temper the mid-century stress on Christ's helplessness by reminding the viewer that He freely cooperated with His captors and quashed Peter's attempt to resist. Interestingly, it is precisely this aspect of the Betrayal--Christ's willingness to submit to the mob--which is emphasized by the leading Franciscan theologian of the second half of the Dugento, St. Bonaventura. Bonaventura, Minister General of the Order from 1257 to 1274, writes in The Tree of Life:

Yet, when the men of blood, led by the betrayer, came in the night with torches, lanterns, and weapons to capture Him, He clearly showed His readiness. He hurried forward to meet them, proclaimed His identity, and gave Himself up. Even so, in order that human presumption might realize that it is powerless against Him except as He permits, He caused these servants of evil to fall to the ground by a word expressing His almighty power. But not even then did He in anger withhold His compassion, nor did this honeycomb cease to drip loving-kindness: for He healed with a touch of His hand the ear of the arrogant servant, severed by one of His disciples, and He restrained the zeal of His defender, bent on wounding the aggressors.¹¹²

This surprising account departs sharply from Francis' notion of Christ as a helpless prisoner; it does, however, clarify the iconography of the Assisi fresco (fig. 35), where Christ similarly "restrains the zeal of His defender." In neither Bonaventura's text nor the Assisi fresco is there any suggestion that Christ is physically overpowered by the mob; instead, in both, this stalwart figure seems fully in control of the proceedings.

It may be, then, that Bonaventura's insistence on Christ's voluntary participation in the Arrest influenced the reemergence, in the

last third of the century, of the heroic man of action who forthrightly puts a halt to Peter's attack. But whatever the explanation for this return to the traditional iconography, it is difficult to ascribe a decisive role to the influence of Byzantine art: only rarely does this forceful gesture of rebuke occur in the East, and never does it appear as it does in the late Dugento.¹¹³ The iconographic type of the later Dugento thus seems to be an indigenous development, a pattern largely dependent on earlier Italian formulations which may reflect the ideas of a leading Italian theologian. But if Byzantine art played, at best, a secondary role in the later representation of the Betrayal, this apparent independence from Byzantine types is not an isolated phenomenon; comparable instances will emerge throughout this study. Already in the first Passion theme, then, hints of the complexity of the relationship between Dugento painters and their Byzantine sources begin to be felt. An analysis of subsequent themes will reaffirm this complexity. Tuscan painters will continue to exercise a striking discrimination in response to Byzantine models, at times appropriating Eastern compositions in their entirety, at times modifying them, and at times rejecting them in favor of a distinctly different iconographic type.

NOTES

¹The Last Supper appears but once, on Pisa No. 15 (Sandberg-Vavalà, fig. 164); the Washing of the Feet twice, on Pisa No. 15 (ibid., fig. 184) and Uffizi No. 432 (ibid., fig. 183); the Agony in the Garden once, on the San Frediano Cross (ibid., fig. 381). In no case is there any indication of direct contact with Byzantine models.

²The Deposition occurs on twelve crosses, the Entombment on thirteen; for these scenes see chapters six and seven. Though the Betrayal appears on eleven crosses, only nine will be discussed in this chapter: the Tressa Master's cross is in very poor condition, and only the outlines of the scene can be distinguished; the whereabouts of the Tolomei Cross are unknown, and photographs of the Betrayal are therefore unattainable.

In addition to these eleven crosses, fragments of the scene are also discernible, according to Garrison, on two crosses of which the tabellone are largely destroyed: the Aretine cross in Castiglione Fiorentino, Pinacoteca, c. 1240-50 (Index, No. 514), and a Pisan cross, the Castelfiorentino Cross Master's eponymous work, now in Volterra, Museo dell'Opera del Duomo, c. 1260-70 (Index, No. 529).

³It is interesting that the Betrayal also introduces the cycle of the liturgical year in the Office of the Passion written by St. Francis, for "on that night Our Lord Jesus Christ was captured and taken prisoner." See St. Francis of Assisi: Writings and Early Biographies. English Omnibus of the Sources for the Life of St. Francis, ed. Marion A. Habig (Chicago, 1972), p. 140 (hereafter cited as Omnibus). The specific relationship of this text to Betrayal iconography will be discussed below. The Betrayal also introduces the Officium Passionis Domini written by St. Bonaventura, Minister General of the Franciscan Order (1221-74); see Sandro Sticca, "Officium Passionis Domini: An Unpublished Manuscript of the Fourteenth Century," Franciscan Studies, 34 (1974), 146, 160.

⁴It does not appear on three Lucchese crosses of the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries, the Servite Cross, the San Michele Cross and the Santa Marta Cross, nor on three Pisan crosses of the same period, the San Frediano Cross, Pisa No. 15 and Pisa No. 20. It is excluded, too, on a strongly archaizing cross of the early Trecento, Pisa No. 9, which almost certainly duplicates a much earlier work; see Sandberg-Vavalà, p. 609 and Gertrude Coor, "Coppo di Marcovaldo: His Art in Relation to the Art of his Time," Marsyas, 5 (1947-49), 19, n. 38.

⁵Garrison's Index published ten altarpieces which depict more than two Passion scenes; the Betrayal occurs in eight (Nos. 282, 325,

327, 348, 367, 390, 422, 697). The only two which exclude it date from the last decade of the Dugento (Nos. 351, 412).

⁶The Sarzana Cross was probably destined for the cathedral of Luni; see Clairece Black, "The Origin of the Lucchese Cross Form," Marsyas, 1 (1941), 27-28. For other important discussions of Guglielmus, see G. M. Richter, "The Crucifix of Guglielmus at Sarzana," Burlington Magazine, 51 (1927); Sandberg-Vavalà, "Quattro croci romanische a Sarzana e a Lucca," Dedalo, 9 (1928-29), 65-96, 129-44; Sandberg-Vavalà, Croce dipinta, pp. 519-37; Giulia Sinibaldi and Giulia Brunetti, Pittura italiana del Dugento e Trecento: Catalogo della Mostra Giottesca di Firenze del 1937 (Florence, 1943), pp. 3-5 (hereafter cited as Mostra Giottesca); Garrison, Index, No. 498; Antonio Morassi, Capolavori della pittura a Genova (Florence, 1951), p. 28; Garrison, "Toward a New History of Early Lucchese Painting," Art Bulletin, 33 (1951), 11-31; Garrison, "A Lucchese Passionary related to the Sarzana Crucifix," Art Bulletin, 35 (1953), 109-19; Bologna, pp. 36, 55; Carli, pp. 14-15.

⁷Otto Demus, Byzantine Mosaic Decoration: Aspects of Monumental Art in Byzantium (London, 1948), p. 8, relates this tradition to icon painting, in which only those figures with whom the viewer would not want to make contact were shown in profile.

⁸The provenance of this highly controversial work continues to provoke debate. Osvald Sirén, Toskanische Maler im XIII. Jahrhundert (Berlin, 1922), pp. 185-87, and Sandberg-Vavalà, Croce dipinta, pp. 583-89, attribute it to Pisa; so, too, do Mario Salmi, "I mosaici del 'Bel San Giovanni e la pittura del secolo XIII a Firenze,'" Dedalo, 11 (1931), 543; Victor Lasareff, "New Light on the Problem of the Pisan School," Burlington Magazine, 68 (1936), 62; Luigi Coletti, I primitivi (Novara, 1941), I, xx; Enzo Carli, Pittura medievale pisana (Milan, 1958), pp. 23-24; Luisa Marcucci, Galleria Nazionale di Firenze: I dipinti toscani del secolo XIII (Rome, 1958), pp. 11-13; Ernest DeWald, Italian Painting 1200-1600 (New York, 1961), pp. 33-36, and Bologna, pp. 36-37. But the strong stylistic relationship with later Florentine painting has been rightly stressed by Richard Offner, "The 'Mostra del Tesoro di Firenze Sacra'-I," Burlington Magazine, 63 (1933), 75; Mostra Giottesca, pp. 159-61; Garrison, Index, p. 18, and Frederick Hartt, History of Italian Renaissance Art (New York, 1969), pp. 30-31. Carlo Ragghianti, Pittura del Dugento a Firenze (Florence, 1957), p. 1, hedges somewhat, stating that the painter was active around Florence. To the arguments of Offner et al. might be added the observation that the Betrayal occurs in no indisputably Pisan work of the late twelfth or early thirteenth centuries.

⁹The Rosano Cross is no less controversial than Uffizi No. 432; the two are, in fact, generally attributed to the same center. Thus Sirén, pp. 184-85; Sandberg-Vavalà, Croce dipinta, pp. 578-81; Salmi, p. 543; Lasareff, p. 62; Coletti, I, xx and Carli, Pittura medievale, pp. 23-24, all view it as Pisan, while Offner, p. 75, Mostra Giottesca,

pp. 162-64; and Garrison, Index, p. 18 all ascribe it to Florence. Ragghianti, p. 1, suggests that the painter was active in Pisa.

¹⁰Index, No. 510. See also Sandberg-Vavalà, Croce dipinta, pp. 548-52. Much of the cross has been extensively repainted; the tabellone, luckily, escaped.

¹¹Details underline the basic kinship between the two: the jowly, squarish faces, the absence of modeling, the slit-like mouths, and even the curiously stylized treatment of Peter's beard and moustache.

¹²Remarkably, no monographic study of the Berlinghieri family and early Lucchese painting exists. Garrison planned such a study, but it never reached fruition. He did publish a series of articles, however, on the Berlinghieri; see "New History," pp. 11-13, and "A Berlinghieresque Fresco in S. Stefano, Bologna," Art Bulletin, 28 (1946), 211-32. For other analyses of the family, more general works must be consulted. See, for instance, Sandberg-Vavalà, Croce dipinta, pp. 539-67; Mostra Giottesca, pp. 6-19; Garrison, Index, pp. 12, 13, 21-22; DeWald, pp. 29-32; Bologna, p. 55; Carli, Italian Primitives, p. 16; Oertel, pp. 38-39; and Hartt, pp. 29-30.

¹³Coor is the author of the only detailed studies of Coppo; in addition to the previously cited Marsyas article, "Coppo" (see note 4) consult "A Visual Basis for the Documents Relating to Coppo di Marcovaldo and his Son Salerno," Art Bulletin, 28 (1946), 233-47. She notes Coppo's ties with Lucca in "Coppo," pp. 6-7. For other discussions of Coppo, see Sandberg-Vavalà, Croce dipinta, pp. 255-64; Mostra Giottesca, pp. 185-91; Garrison, Index, pp. 15-16; Lasareff, "Un nuovo capolavoro della pittura fiorentina duecentesca," Rivista d'arte, 20 (January, 1955), 1-65; Ragghianti, pp. 47-78; Marcucci, pp. 29, 33, 39; P. G. Giustini, "Una Madonna di Coppo a Santa Maria Maggiore," L'Arte, 24 (1959), 277-86; DeWald, pp. 55-59; Bologna, pp. 75-77; Carli, Italian Primitives, pp. 31-32; John White, Art and Architecture in Italy 1250-1400 (Baltimore, 1966), pp. 108-11; Battisti, pp. 16-22; Oertel, pp. 41-42; Hartt, pp. 31-33; Bruce Cole, Giotto and Florentine Painting 1280-1375 (New York, 1976), pp. 24-30; Alistair Smart, The Dawn of Italian Painting 1250-1400 (Ithaca, 1978), pp. 9-12.

¹⁴Peleo Bacci, "Coppo di Marcovaldo e Salerno di Coppo," L'Arte, 3 (1900), 32-40.

¹⁵Sandberg-Vavalà, Croce dipinta, p. 754, and "Paintings by Salerno di Coppo," Art in America, 28 (1940), 47-54; Mostra Giottesca, pp. 191-201; Garrison, Index, p. 199; DeWald, p. 59; Bologna, pp. 78-79; Carli, Italian Primitives, p. 32; Smart, p. 13.

¹⁶Coor, "Coppo," p. 7.

- ¹⁷On Enrico di Tedice and the closely related Castellare Master, see Sandberg-Vavalà, Croce dipinta, pp. 694-96; Lasareff, "New Light," pp. 61-73; Mostra Giottesca, pp. 64-67; Garrison, "Post-War Discoveries: Early Italian Paintings--I," Burlington Magazine, 89 (1947), 147-52; Index, pp. 14, 17; Garrison, "A Pisan Crucifix in Leningrad" in Studies in the History of Medieval Italian Painting, II (Florence, 1956), 204-8; Ragghianti, pp. 8-10; Carli, Pittura medievale, pp. 38-39, pp. 48-51; Marcucci, p. 15; DeWald, pp. 41-42; Carli, Italian Primitives, pp. 22-24; Campini, p. 58; Smart, p. 9.
- ¹⁸Sandberg-Vavalà, Croce dipinta, pp. 691-96; Ragghianti, p. 8. Garrison was the first to separate the two hands, in "Post-War Discoveries, I," pp. 148-51.
- ¹⁹Madonna and Child with Passion Scenes, Florence, Bargello. See Garrison, "Post-War Discoveries, I," pp. 147-52; Carli, Pittura medievale, fig. 69.
- ²⁰Sandberg-Vavalà, Croce dipinta, pp. 606-9; Garrison, Index, No. 523; Coor, "Coppo," p. 8.
- ²¹Croce dipinta, p. 607.
- ²²Recherches sur l'iconographie de l'évangile (1916; rpt. Paris, 1960), pp. 326-41.
- ²³For examples see Millet, pp. 330-31, and Gertrud Schiller, Iconography of Christian Art, II: The Passion of Jesus Christ (Greenwich, Conn., 1972), 51-56; figs. 158-66.
- ²⁴The Khludov Psalter (Moscow, Historical Museum, Ms. 129D, fol. 54v.; Schiller, II, fig. 162), of the second half of the ninth century, still depicts the Kiss and Arrest as two episodes; in a Cappadocian fresco of c. 900 (Göreme, Chapel 15a; fig. 18; see note 42), the two are fused. And in a fresco in the Basilica of Cimitile in South Italy (fig. 26), executed in the first decade of the tenth century, Malchus and Peter join the composite scene (see Hans Belting, Die Basilica del SS. Martiri in Cimitile und ihr frühmittelalterlicher Freskenzyklus [Wiesbaden, 1962], pp. 52-58).
- ²⁵Millet, pp. 327-44; Belting, Cimitile, pp. 53-58. The iconography of the Betrayal is discussed, in more general terms, by other writers: Karl Kunstle, Iconographie der Christlichen Kunst, I (Freiburg, 1926), 427-31; Walter Cook, "The Earliest Painted Panels of Catalonia, V," Art Bulletin, 10 (1927), 178-93; Louis Bréhier, L'Art chrétien: son développement iconographique des origines a nos jours (Paris, 1928), pp. 255-56; Louis Réau, Iconographie de l'art chrétien, III, pt. 2 (Paris, 1957), 431-37; Schiller, II, 51-56; and Justine

Thuner, "Verrat des Judas," Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie (1972). None, however, attempts to analyze the different types of the scene. For Sandberg-Vavalà's discussion of the scene, see note 26 below.

²⁶ Millet begins by establishing two types: Hellenistic and Oriental. His Hellenistic type includes sarcophagi and the mosaic at Sant' Apollinare Nuovo, Ravenna; Byzantine examples "d'après le type hellénistique" (p. 338). Among Oriental examples, he cites Syrian, Armenian, Coptic and Cappadocian works. The primary point of distinction is Judas' position: in the first, he approaches from the left, in the second from the right.

One difficulty in Millet's system is his grouping of the sarcophagi and the Ravenna mosaic in the same category; as will be shown shortly (pp. 22-23), the two are fundamentally different in iconographic essentials and in the underlying conception of the scene. Even if one overlooks this problem and considers the "Hellenistic" and "Oriental" types in Middle Byzantine art, the categories do not bear close scrutiny. In figs. 341-45, for instance, he publishes five Middle Byzantine examples of the scene; in only two is Judas on the left. This may account for the evident confusion of Demus, who, citing Millet, alludes to the "metropolitan" type, "with Judas on the right" (Mosaics of Norman Sicily [London, 1950], p. 286). Sandberg-Vavalà was among the first to reject Millet's principle of Hellenistic and Oriental types: "In verità questa composizione si presta poco alla divisione netta fra tipi ellenistici ed orientali" (Croce dipinta, p. 232). In fact she rejects the concept of two different types altogether, and stresses instead the existence of "uno schema unico" (p. 231).

Hans Belting returns to Millet's principle of two types, but radically reinterprets it. First, he wisely avoids geographical distinctions altogether, terming his categories simply "Type A" and "Type B" (p. 54). Second, he distinguishes between types not on the basis of Judas' placement but on the basis on Christ's position. In his "Type A," which includes both the sarcophagi and the Syrian Rabula Gospels, Christ faces Judas and embraces him. The two thus form a "pyramidale Zweiergruppe" (p. 54). In "Type B," exemplified by the Ravenna mosaic, Christ does not embrace Judas but is quiet and frontal. Gertrud Schiller basically follows Belting. She notes the existence of two traditions: in one Christ appears in profile, in the second He is frontal (II, 52-53).

But Belting's distinction, while clearly valid in the case of the Ravenna and Rabula scenes, is also, at times, difficult to maintain. Frequently the configuration of Christ and Judas conforms neither to Type A nor to Type B. Consider one example, the fresco at Qeledjar in Cappadocia (see note 37), which Belting specifically identifies as Type A (p. 54, n. 77). In fact the fresco bears only a remote resemblance to Belting's description of "A": "Christus und Judas rasch aufeinander zu, ... ergreifen sich bei Händen oder fassen sich an den Schultern und küssen sich." Christ does not actually

embrace Judas at all but simply gazes quietly at him and raises His hand in greeting. Indeed, the Qeledjlar example is iconographically very similar to the later Cappadocian fresco at Qaranleq (fig. 16), termed by Belting "Type B" (p. 56, n. 86): the positions and gestures of Christ and Judas are almost identical in the two works. Minor differences between them do not seem sufficient justification for labeling them representative of two different traditions.

Schiller, who follows Belting in this regard, encounters similar difficulties. Thus she considers the Betrayal in the Stuttgart Psalter a descendant of the Ravenna type (II, 53; fig. 164), in contrast to a contemporary book-cover from Metz (fig. 165), which she says stems from the sarcophagus type. Yet the two are almost iconographic twins.

²⁷See Raffaele Garrucci, Storia della arte cristiana nei primi otto secoli della chiesa, V (Prato, 1879), pp. 57-58.

²⁸Though Millet assumes the figure on the left is Judas (p. 326), Schiller correctly identifies it as Christ (II, 52). The two are admittedly difficult to distinguish, but in the other panels of the Verona sarcophagus, and in most other sarcophagi as well, Christ is depicted with relatively long hair which curls at the nape of His neck; Judas' hair, by contrast, is cropped short in the back.

²⁹Thus in the Visitation, for instance, Mary is almost invariably placed on the left, Elizabeth on the right; it was Mary who went to see her cousin. See Schiller, I, figs. 59, 75, 99, 111, 131-35. Similarly, in the Entry to Jerusalem, Christ almost always rides from left to right. See Millet, figs. 235-67; Schiller, II, figs. 31-49.

³⁰See, for instance, André Grabar, Christian Iconography: A Study of its Origins (Princeton, 1968), p. 132; Schiller, II, 1-9.

³¹Among them are reliefs on several other sarcophagi published by Garrucci, V: Arles, St. Maximim, pl. 352 (4); Arles, Museum, pl. 399 (5); Rome, Sant'Agnese, pl. 402 (4). A miniature in the Gospels of St. Augustine, c. 600 (Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, Ms. 286, fol. 125r.; Schiller, II, fig. 11) also represents Christ, on the left, embracing Judas; there, soldiers are strewn in the lower right corner of the composition, a motif probably derived from the account of St. John.

³²Florence, Laurentian Library, Plut. I. 56, 586; see Carlo Cecchelli, The Rabbula Gospel (Olten and Lausanne, 1959).

³³See Giuseppe Bovini, Mosaici di Sant'Apollinare Nuovo di Ravenna (Florence, 1958).

³⁴ Florence, Laurentian Library, Plut. VI, 23, c. 1100; see Tania Velmans, La Tetraévangile de la Laurentienne, Bibliothèque des Cahiers Archéologiques, VI (Paris, 1971).

³⁵ Other descendents of this type include Paris suppl. gr. 27, fol. 118v. (fig. 23; cited in note 48 below); Parma Bibl. Palat. 5, fol. 90r. (fig. 25; cited in note 50); and Leningrad, State Library, Ms. gr. 105, fol. 62 (Millet, fig. 342; see E. C. Colwell and H. R. Willoughby, The Four Gospels of Karahissar, 2 vols. [Chicago, 1936]). In view of the Florence Gospel Book's often-cited link with an Early Christian recension (Millet, pp. 688-89; Velmans, p. 19), it is not surprising that the miniature in this manuscript is the most faithful of the group to the prototype.

³⁶ London, British Museum, Add. Ms. 19352, 1066; see Sirarpie Der Nersessian, L'Illustration des psautiers grecs du Moyen Age, II: Londres, Add. 19.352, Bibliothèque des Cahiers Archéologiques, V (Paris, 1970).

³⁷ See Marcell Restle, Die byzantinische Wandmalerei in Kleinasien (Recklinghausen, 1967), II, pl. 236. The identical type occurs in other Cappadocian frescoes published by Restle, II: Qeledjlar Kilisse, c. 900, pl. 271; Tchareqle Kilisse, c. 1150-1200, pl. 207; Elmale Kilisse, c. 1190-1200, pl. 181; Tchauch In, 936-69, Restle, II, pl. 302. It is also found, however, in a manuscript recently ascribed to Palestine or Cyprus, the Rockefeller-McCormick New Testament, fol. 32r.; see Annemarie Weyl Carr, "The Rockefeller-McCormick New Testament: Studies Toward the Reattribution of Chicago, University Library, Ms. 965" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Michigan, 1973), p. 213, p. 317.

³⁸ Cyril Mango and Ernest Hawkins, "The Hermitage of St. Neophytos and its Wall Paintings," Dumbarton Oaks Papers, 20 (1966), 121-206.

³⁹ Others include a fifteenth-century Serbian fresco at Rudenica (Millet, fig. 348) and a miniature in a lectionary in San Giorgio del Greci, Venice, fol. 280r. (unpublished; photograph available at the Index of Christian Art, Dumbarton Oaks Research Library, Washington, D.C.). The manuscript has been dated to the eleventh century by Carr, p. 215, n. 1; to the twelfth by Sirarpie Der Nersessian (cited by Rudolf Riefstahl, "A Decorated Page in a Byzantine Manuscript at San Giorgio die Greci, Venice," Art Bulletin, 13 [1931], 217-20) and to the thirteenth by Andreas Xyngopoulos, "Il Vangelo ministo dell' Istituto Ellenico di Venezia," Thesaurismata, I (1962), 63-88 (in Greek; Italian summary, pp. 183-84). The type may have also occurred at the Church of the Holy Apostles in Constantinople; see Millet, p. 339. For Nikolaos Mesarites' account of that mosaic see his Description of the Church of the Holy Apostles at Constantinople, trans. Glanville Downey (Philadelphia, 1957), pp. 881-82.

⁴⁰ Thus it was during this period that the image of the Christus patiens became common. John Martin, "The Dead Christ on the Cross in Byzantine Art," in Late Classical and Medieval Studies on Honor of Albert Matthias Friend, Jr., ed. Kurt Weitzmann (Princeton, 1955), pp. 189-96 and André Grabar, Iconoclasm byzantin (Paris, 1957), pp. 228-31, have related the depiction of Christ's death on the cross to Iconophile arguments that His humanity justified His representation in religious art. This emphasis on Christ's suffering during the Passion culminates in the late twelfth and thirteenth centuries; see Tania Velmans, "Les valeurs affectives dans la peinture murale byzantine du XIII^e siècle," in L'Art byzantin du XIII^e siècle (Belgrade, 1967), pp. 47-57, and Kurt Weitzmann, "Byzantium and the West around the Year 1200," in The Year 1200: A Symposium (New York, 1975).

⁴¹ Millet is correct in stating that most Byzantine representations place Judas on the left (p. 338), but, as already stated (see note 26), he errs in tracing the type to sarcophagi.

⁴² The fresco was first published by Nicole Thierry, "Quelques églises inédites en Cappadoce," Journal des Savants (1965), 625-35.

⁴³ See Ernst Diez and Otto Demus, Byzantine Mosaics in Greece: Hosios Lukas and Daphni (Cambridge, 1931).

⁴⁴ New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, Ms. 639. See Kurt Weitzmann, "The Constantinopolitan Lectionary, Morgan 639," in Studies in Art and Literature for Bella da Costa Greene, ed. Dorothy Miner (Princeton, 1954), pp. 358-73; he dates the manuscript in the 1070's (pp. 359-60).

⁴⁵ Mount Athos, Monastery of Dionysiou, Ms. 589m.; 1059. See the publication of the Patriarchial Institute for Patristic Studies, The Treasures of Mount Athos--Illuminated Manuscripts, I (Athens, [1974-75]), pp. 434-36, with bibliography.

⁴⁶ Rome, Vatican Museum, Ms. gr. 1156. Weitzmann ("Byzantine Miniature and Icon Painting in the Eleventh Century" in Studies in Classical and Byzantine Manuscript Illumination, ed. Herbert Kessler [Chicago, 1971], p. 295), dates the manuscript to the third quarter of the eleventh century. Other instances of the type can be found in the Gospel book in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. gr. 74, fols. 55r., 96v. and 158v; Henri Omont, Évangiles grecs peintures byzantines du XI^e siècle (Paris, 1908), I, pl. 41, pl. 84; II, pl. 136; dated by Weitzmann, "Byzantine Miniature," p. 280, to the 1060's; and in three icons of the eleventh and twelfth centuries on Mt. Sinai, Monastery of St. Catherine; see Giorgios and Maria Soteriou, Icones du Mont Sinai (Athens, 1956), II, figs. 66, 145, 146-49.

⁴⁷ As in, for instance, Paris gr. 74, cited in note 46.

⁴⁸ Bibliothèque Nationale, suppl. gr. 27; Byzance et la France médiévale (Paris, 1958), p. 26, dates it to the early twelfth century.

⁴⁹ See Guglielmo Matthiae, I Mosaici della Nea Moni a Chios (Rome, 1964). In the configuration of Christ and Judas the mosaic represents an interesting variant of the earliest formula. As in the sarcophagi (cf. fig. 11), Christ marches resolutely into the arms of the traitor, but now He raises His hand to rebuke Peter, as in the St. Neophytos fresco (fig. 17). The same mutation occurs in an early twelfth-century Cypriot fresco at Asinou (see Marina Sacopolu, Asinou en 1106 et sa contribution a l'iconographie [Brussels, 1966]), and an early thirteenth-century Gospel book in Berlin (fig. 36; cited in note 96). In the fresco at Asinou the relationship to a model like the composition at St. Neophytos is most explicit, for Peter and Malchus kneel in one corner and Peter turns back in response to Christ's command. The Berlin Gospel Book represents a curious misunderstanding of the model: Christ still gestures toward the right corner, but Peter and Malchus have been shifted to the left; as a result, the gesture is incongruously directed at an empty space.

⁵⁰ Biblioteca Palatina, Ms. 5; see John Beckwith, Early Christian and Byzantine Art (Baltimore, 1970), pp. 116-17.

⁵¹ In addition to the three works just discussed (figs. 15, 24, 25), see figs. 14, 19, 20, 21; to this list could be added others, among them the miniature in the Rockefeller-McCormick New Testament (see note 37) and the three icons mentioned in note 46. Peter and Malchus are clearly separated from the crowd only in Paris 74 (see note 46), in Vat. gr. 1156 and Paris suppl. gr. 27 (figs. 22 and 23), and in a Crusader manuscript, the Psalter of Melisinde (London, British Museum, Egerton 1139, fol. 7v.; Hugo Buchthal, Miniature Painting in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem [Oxford, 1957], pl. 7-b; Buchthal dates it 1131-43, p. 1, but notes its frequent dependence on compositional types current almost a century earlier, p. 7). Weitzmann, then, is incorrect in describing the fusion of Peter and Malchus with the mob in Morgan 639 (fig. 20) as "contrary to the common iconography where this group is more strongly singled out" ("Constantinopolitan Lectionary," p. 366).

⁵² This final phase especially characterizes icon painting (see note 46) and lectionary illumination (figs. 20 and 21), and may reflect monumental prototypes, conceivably the lost mosaic in the Church of the Holy Apostles (see note 39). One characteristic of the final formulation, the tendency to subsume Peter and Malchus into the composition as a whole, may also be related to the general characteristic of church decoration, icon painting and lectionary illumination to deemphasize narrative detail in order to focus on the spiritual content of a scene. See Weitzmann, "Byzantine Miniature and Icon Painting," especially pp. 289-313; "The Narrative and Liturgical Gospel illustrations," in Studies, pp. 247-70, and a dissertation by

Weitzmann's student Shigebumi Tsuji, "The Study of the Gospel Illustrations in Florence, Laur. Plut. VI. 93 and Paris, Bibl. Nat. Cod. Gr. 74," Princeton University, 1968.

⁵³Cimitile, p. 130.

⁵⁴Ibid., p. 57. According to Belting the same type appears at St. Johann in Müstair. The Müstair fresco cycle, of which the Betrayal remains unpublished, is undated. Belting, p. 57, ascribes it to the early ninth century, but Grabar, Early Medieval Painting (New York, 1957), puts it at the end of the ninth century. Grabar does, however, note the cycle's connections with Rome (p. 57).

⁵⁵Trier, Stadtbibliothek, Cod. 24, c. 980; see Hubert Schiel, Codex Egberti di Stadtbibliothek Trier (Basel, 1960). The composition recurs at least once in Ottonian illumination, in the Gospels of Otto III, Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cim. 4453, 983-1102; see Schiller, II, 54.

⁵⁶The emphasis on Christ's admonition to Peter in South Italian iconography finds an interesting literary parallel in a twelfth-century Passion Play from Montecassino, where an entire scene is devoted to Peter's attack and Christ's reprimand. See Sandro Sticca, The Latin Passion Play: Its Origins and Development (Albany, 1970), p. 63.

⁵⁷Bibliothèque Mazarine, Cod. 363; see Myrtille Avery, The Exultet Rolls of South Italy (Princeton, 1936), p. 42.

⁵⁸See Demus, Mosaics of Norman Sicily, p. 286.

⁵⁹A fresco in Santa Trinità, Saccargia, published by Maria Accascina, "Gli affreschi di Santa Trinità di Saccargia," Bollettino d'arte, 38 (1953), 21-30, fig. 9. The dating of the fresco cycle is controversial; Accascina places it in the early twelfth century, but Garrison, "Comment on the Frescoes in Santa Trinità di Saccargia," in Studies in the History of Medieval Italian Painting, I (Florence, 1953), 193-96, suggests the 1130's or 1190's.

⁶⁰Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, N. Acq. lat 710; Avery, Exultet Rolls, pp. 23-24.

⁶¹Pietro Toesca and Ferdinando Forlati, Mosaics of St. Marks (Greenwich, Conn., 1958).

⁶²The fresco at Sant'Urbano alla Cafferella, Rome, may have been a similar fusion of types, but it has been so heavily restored that deciphering the original appearance of the scene becomes difficult if not impossible. See Gerhard Ladner, "Die italienische Malerei

im XI. Jahrhundert,"Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien, 5 (1931), 33-160, fig. 77.

⁶³To the examples of the type cited could be added a miniature in a lectionary from a Basilian monastery in South Italy, now in Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, D. 67 sup., fol. 74r.; Millet, fig. 350. The date of the lectionary remains uncertain. In Tresors des bibliothèques d'Italie (Paris, 1950), no. 31, it is ascribed to the twelfth century, but Francesca Leoni, Codici decorati e miniati bell' Ambrosiana (Milan, 1957), p. 176, dates it in the thirteenth century.

The type lingers in South Italy until the second half of the thirteenth century: it recurs at San Pellegrino, Bominaco and Santa Maria ad Cryptas, Fossa (see Emile Bertaux, L'art dans l'Italie méridionale [Paris, 1903], fig. 111, fig. 115).

Despite the numerous instances of this image, it does not invariably occur. The most important exception to the prevailing iconography occurs at Sant'Angelo in Formis (fig. 33; cited in note 73)--perhaps the sole South Italian Betrayal which does not depict Christ rebuking Peter. Other instances of nonconformity occur, for the most part, in central Italy: among them are miniatures in the Gospel book of Matilda of Tuscany (New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, Ms. 492, fol. 100v.; George Warner, The Gospels of Matilda, Countess of Tuscany 1055-1115 [Oxford, 1917], pl. XXIV; Cook, "Earliest Painted Panels, V," fig. 59) and in a psalter in the Biblioteca Vallicelliana, Rome (Garrison, Studies, II, fig. 86). Finally, the type generally does not appear in contemporary sculpture; see the examples compiled by Sandberg-Vavalà (Croce dipinta, p. 424).

⁶⁴Representative examples are published by Cook, "Earliest Painted Panels, V," figs. 47, 49-55, 57-58 and by Schiller, II, figs. 164-68, 170, 175-76. Occasionally one does encounter Northern versions of the Betrayal in which Christ rebukes Peter; among them are miniatures in the St. Albans Psalter (fig. 32), which probably reflects a South Italian model (see note 72) and in the Limoges Gospels, New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, Ms. 44, fol. 7v. (Cook, "Earliest Painted Panels, V," fig. 48).

⁶⁵The same frontality occurs in the other surviving Eastern versions of the type cited in note 39.

⁶⁶Compare, too, the Betrayal in the Egbert Codex, fig. 27. Most Italian versions, however, retain the frontality of the Eastern prototype; see figs. 28-31.

⁶⁷Peter similarly kneels on his victim in the Egbert Codex, fig. 27. At Sant'Angelo (fig. 33) Peter subdues Malchus by planting his foot on the servant.

⁶⁸ Compare the Monreale mosaic (fig. 29), the Sard fresco (see note 59) and the Betrayal in the next extant painted cross, Uffizi No. 432 (fig. 2).

⁶⁹ It is not unknown, however; it appears in Paris gr. 74 (Omont, II, pl. 136).

⁷⁰ Luke notes the presence of the high priests, John of the soldiers; see p. 10.

⁷¹ See, for instance, figs. 14, 15, 18, 20-25. According to Millet (p. 338), the true Byzantine type depicts "les soldats . . . mêlés au peuple," but if so the soldiers rarely wear anything that would betray their identity; in general identifiable, armor-clad soldiers appear only in provinces like Cyprus (as at St. Neophytos, fig. 17, and the fresco at Asinou, cited in note 49). As for high priests, one appears at Ravenna (fig. 13), but at least in Constantinople, this figure remains uncommon in Middle Byzantine art. Two do appear at Daphni (fig. 19), but in general they are found far more frequently in the eastern provinces of the empire than in metropolitan art. Thus they appear in Coptic and Georgian manuscripts published by Millet (figs. 340 and 345), and in twelfth-century Cappadocian frescoes, their presence is inevitable (see fig. 16 and the frescoes cited in note 37).

⁷² Hildesheim, St. Godehard Library; see Otto Pächt, C. R. Dodwell and Francis Wormald, The St. Albans Psalter (London, 1960). Pächt, p. 90, considers it "possible that Italy played a part in [the] transmission [of this type] to England;" in fact it is highly likely. The very fact that Christ here rebukes Peter is one indication of an Italian model; as noted above (p. 29), the type is extremely uncommon in the North. Other aspects of the composition suggest a specifically South Italian, possibly Cassinese, provenance for the English illuminator's source. Thus the stance of Christ, gesturing towards Peter but gazing at Judas, recalls the Mazarine Breviary (fig. 28); so, too, does the figure seizing Christ's outstretched left hand, a motif which recurs as well at Sant'Angelo (fig. 33). For other evidence of the Albani Master's familiarity with Italian iconography, specifically South Italian, see Pächt, pp. 71-73; he proposes, p. 73, an Italian sojourn for the illuminator.

⁷³ Ottavio Morisani, Gli Affreschi di S. Angelo in Formis (Naples, 1962).

⁷⁴ Garrison, "Lucchese Passionary," p. 113.

⁷⁵ Montecassino had owned property in Lucca since 1056, when San Giorgio in Lucca was transferred to the Benedictine monastery. See Hannsmartin Schwarzmeier, Lucca und das Reich bis zum Ende des 11. Jahrhunderts (Tubingen, 1972), pp. 380-81.

⁷⁶Numerous ties existed between the two communes in the second half of the twelfth century; on their military alliance see Daniel Waley, "The Army of the Florentine Republic from the Twelfth to the Fourteenth Century," in Florentine Studies: Politics and Society in Renaissance Florence, ed. Nicolai Rubenstein (Evanston, 1968), pp. 71-72.

⁷⁷Lasareff, "New Light," p. 67; Carli, "Italian Primitives," p. 18. Earlier, Salmi associated the cross with Persian miniatures (p. 543).

⁷⁸The same mutant seems to appear in the badly damaged Tressa Cross (see note 2), but the poor condition of this panel precludes a full discussion.

⁷⁹This division also occurs in one Eastern Betrayal, the St. Neophytos fresco (fig. 17).

⁸⁰This peculiarity may have existed in the Italian painter's model--the identical misunderstanding was not unknown in Constantinople, and unexpectedly occurs in the Dionysiou Lectionary (fig. 21).

⁸¹In the Gospel Book of Matilda and the Vallicelliana Psalter (both cited in note 63), the entire group on the right consists of soldiers. The arming of Malchus is less common; it occurs in Cappadocia, however (fig. 16) and was transmitted to the West by the late eleventh century (as in a lectionary in Gnesen, Kapitulna, Ms. 1a, fol. 47v.; photograph available in the Index of Christian Art).

⁸²In some earlier Italian examples, among them the fresco at Sant' Angelo (fig. 33) and the miniatures in the Gospel Book of Matilda and the Vallicelliana Psalter (see note 63), the gesture of rebuke is omitted, but these works cannot account for the other iconographic changes which distinguish the Lucchese Betrayal from its predecessors. The Tereglio scene is probably not the first example of the new image in Italy, but it is apparently the earliest which survives. For a comparable version in Northern painting, see note 83.

⁸³This iconographic type found its way to Northern Europe at exactly the same time. The Betrayal (fol. 47r.) in the St. Blasien Psalter, dated 1230-35 (private collection; Harry Bober, The St. Blasien Psalter [New York, 1963], pl. VII) also strongly resembles that in the Dionysiou Lectionary (fig. 21); in fact the unusual tilt of Judas' head in the psalter, with his forehead almost parallel to the base line, can only be explained by such a model. But the Northern illuminator deviates from his source in deemphasizing the semi-circular disposition of the mob and in omitting such details as the bounding figure on the far left--changes which cast doubt on the possibility that the Tereglio painter owes his composition to a Northern

intermediary. The Tuscan painter's strong stylistic debt to Byzantium further reduces the likelihood that he worked from a Northern model.

⁸⁴ Gabriel Millet and A. Frolow, La Peinture du moyen age en Yougoslavie, I (Paris, 1954), pl. 89 (1). They state (I, ix) that the church was built just before 1168 and that the frescoes were executed just after its construction.

⁸⁵ Strassburg, Bibliothèque de la Ville, fol. 138v. (illustrated in A. Straub and G. Keller, Herrade de Landsberg, Hortus Deliciarum [Strassburg, 1899], pl. XXXV. The Hortus was produced between 1167 and 1195; see C. R. Dodwell, Painting in Europe 800-1200 (Baltimore, 1971), p. 171.

⁸⁶ "Constantinopolitan Lectionary," p. 366.

⁸⁷ Lasareff, "New Light," p. 67; Carli, Italian Primitives, p. 24.

⁸⁸ Enrico may not have been the first Pisan artist to reflect East Christian models in a version of the Betrayal: Bonanno Pisano's relief for the bronze doors of the Cathedral of Pisa (Albert Boeckler, Die Bronzetzungen des Bonanus von Pisa und des Barisanus von Trani [Berlin, 1953], pl. 22) also resembles the Cappadocian fresco in the curious enervation of the participants, in the placement of Judas on the right, and in the diminutive size of Malchus. Bonanno did not, however, include the priests who figure so prominently in both the fresco and Enrico's panel.

⁸⁹ Coor, "Coppo," p. 8.

⁹⁰ The strongly Byzantinizing character of Berlinghiero and Bonaventura is universally acknowledged. For references, see note 12.

⁹¹ Coor, "Coppo," *passim*, points out many specific ties.

⁹² Stubblebine, "Byzantine Influence," p. 96; Demus, Byzantine Art and the West, p. 212.

⁹³ Lasareff cites specific examples with reference to Uffizi No. 432, but none in connection with the San Martino Cross ("New Light," p. 67).

⁹⁴ Stubblebine, "Byzantine Influence," p. 87.

⁹⁵ For Guido see Stubblebine, Guido da Siena (Princeton, 1964), fig. 25; for the Baptistry mosaic, Antony de Witt, I mosaici del

Battisterio di Firenze (Florence, 1954), II, pl. XII; for the Assisi fresco, Hans Belting, Die Oberkirche von San Francesco in Assisi (Berlin, 1977), pl. 58; for the Umbrian altarpiece, Francesco Santi, Galleria Nazionale dell'Umbria (Rome, 1969), fig. 14 d, e.

⁹⁶ Staatliche Museum, quarto 66; Millet, fig. 347. See also Richard Hamman-Maclean, "Der Berliner Codex Graecus Quarto 66 und seine nächsten Verwandten als Beispiel des Stilwandels in frühen 13. Jahrhundert," in Studien zur Buchmalerei und Goldschmiedekunst des Mittelalters: Festschrift für Karl Usener (Marburg, 1967), pp. 225-50.

⁹⁷ The crested helmets are those worn by the imperial bodyguard; see H. W. Hansig, A History of Byzantine Civilization (New York, 1971), p. 412. The Italian artist has added to these the Western chapel-derfer; see Howard L. Blackmore, Arms and Armor (London, 1965), p. 18.

⁹⁸ For much of the thirteenth century one encounters little change in Betrayal iconography. The canonical type, that seen in the Dionysiou Lectionary (fig. 21), continues to appear in major monuments, such as Mileševa (illustrated by David Talbot Rice, Byzantine Painting: The Last Phase [New York, 1968], pl. 33), and in important manuscripts, such as Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, gr. 54 (see Henri Omont, Miniatures des plus anciens manuscrits grecs de la Bibliothèque Nationale du VI^e siècle [Paris, 1929], pls. XC-XCVI). However, in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, a new type became current, as a number of examples suggest--among them frescoes at the Protaton Church, Mt. Athos (illustrated by Stubblebine, "Byzantine Sources," fig. 7) and at Staro Nagoričina in Yugoslavia (Millet-Frolow, III, pl. 85 [3-4]). These depict Christ on the right, with His hand raised--it is not clear whether the gesture indicates greeting or admonition. If admonition, it should be noted that the gesture is far more restrained than in the type seen at St. Neophytos (fig. 17). Duccio may have been inspired by such a model, as Stubblebine maintains (p. 182), but if so he subtly modified his source, so that the traditionally Italian gesture of rebuke unequivocally retains its meaning.

⁹⁹ In the Washing of the Feet, for instance, Western iconography generally depicts Christ's command to Peter, while Byzantine art simply represents His act of washing; see Schiller, II, 43-45.

¹⁰⁰ Réau, II, pt. 3, 1081. It is interesting that the Denial of Peter appears on the majority of surviving Lucchese crosses, though it occurs only sporadically elsewhere; see Garrison, Index, Nos. 476, 499, 500, 503, 504, 506, 510.

¹⁰¹ Hrabanus writes: "Aliter, auris pro Domino amputata et a Domino sanata significat auditum ablata vetustate renovatum, ut sit in novitate spiritus et non in vetustate litterae. . ." (J. P. Migne, Patrologia Latina: Cursus Completus, CVII [Paris, 1898]), 1117. Hrabanus' teacher Alcuin refers to the miraculous healing in almost

identical terms (P. L., C, 970). To both theologians, then, the miracle becomes almost a paradigm of the miracle of salvation.

¹⁰²Schiller, II, 141-42.

¹⁰³See p. 8 , note 8.

¹⁰⁴The notion that Franciscan devotion to the Passion influenced the acceptance of the Christus Patiens is widely accepted; see, for instance, Schiller, II, 150; DeWald, pp. 38-39; Battisti, p. 15; Hartt, p. 28.

¹⁰⁵For a general overview of Franciscan piety see Sticca, "Officium Passionis," pp. 155-56, with many references; on the rapid spread of the Order in the decades following St. Francis' death, see John Moorman, A History of the Franciscan Order (Oxford, 1968).

¹⁰⁶Omnibus, pp. 140-55.

¹⁰⁷Ibid., p. 140, citing the Quaranchi edition of the Opuscula, p. 126.

¹⁰⁸Ibid., pp. 141-42. The numbers in parentheses refer to the psalms from which the verses are taken.

¹⁰⁹P.L., XCIV, 561-68. Neither the date nor the authorship of the text is beyond doubt. Walter Baier (Untersuchungen zu den Passionsbetrachtungen in der "Vita Christi;" des Ludolf von Sachsen [Salzburg, 1977], II, 275) ascribes it to an unknown Cistercian and dates it to the twelfth or thirteenth century. But Coor's assertion ("Coppo," p. 18, n. 12) that the tract is of Franciscan authorship is more convincing; a number of passages betray a close familiarity with indisputably Franciscan accounts of the Passion. As for the date, James Marrow, "Circumdederunt me canes multi: Christ's Tormentors in Northern European Art of the Late Middle Ages and Early Renaissance," Art Bulletin, 59 (1977), 197, places it in the thirteenth century and considers it among the sources of Pseudo-Bonaventura's more comprehensive Meditations on the Life of Christ, which was, according to F. L. Pickering, written about the time of the true Bonaventura's death in 1274 (Literature and Art in the Middle Ages [Coral Gables, 1970], p. 238).

¹¹⁰Pseudo-Bede devotes more than ten lines to the apostles' "separation" from Christ. He then continues: "O quoties respiciebant, videntes qualiter Dominus suus ligatus et sine honore trahebatur. . . . o Domine Jesu. . . ibas inter lupos et te mordebant canes pessimi, et non clamabas, and tanquam agnus innocens ad mortem ibas."

¹¹¹Stubblebine, "Byzantine Influence," p. 97; see p. 4.

¹¹²The Works of Bonaventura, trans. José de Vinck (Paterson, N. J., 1960), I, 118. Exactly why Bonaventura chose to stress Christ's "almighty power" at this moment remains obscure. It is generally acknowledged, however, that Bonaventura was strongly influenced by St. Anselm (see J. Guy Bougerol, Introduction to the Works of Bonaventura [Paterson, N. J., 1963], pp. 34-37); a tract wrongly attributed to Anselm, the Dialogus Beatae Mariae Anselmi de Passione Domine, describes the Betrayal in terms very much like those used by Bonaventura: Christ advances toward the soldiers and identifies Himself, then reproves Peter for the attack and heals Malchus' ear (P.L., CLIX. 273).

It should be noted that after this Anselmesque description, Bonaventura continues in a vein which recalls St. Francis' and Pseudo-Bede's conception of the Betrayal, alluding to the "murderous hands" of the "fierce executioners," who "shamefully drag to the sacrifice the Lamb most meek and silent" (Works, I, 118). Something of the same duality may be found even in the Meditations on the Life of Christ. This text, which generally describes Christ's ordeal at the hands of His captors in vivid detail, reminds the reader that Christ voluntarily submitted to them: "How patiently He allows Himself to be captured, tied, beaten and furiously driven. . ." (emphasis mine; Ira Ragusa and Rosalie Green, Meditations on the Life of Christ: An Illustrated Manuscript of the Fourteenth Century [Princeton, 1961], p. 325).

¹¹³See note 98.

CHAPTER II

THE TRIAL OF CHRIST

After the mob had seized Christ, they triumphantly led their prisoner to the Jewish high priests, members of the Sanhedrin, for trial. According to the synoptic gospels, they went directly to the reigning high priest, Caiaphas (Matthew 26:57; Mark 14:53; Luke 22:66); according to John, however, they took Christ first to Annas, Caiaphas' father-in-law, for a preliminary hearing.¹ These two episodes are clearly described by John as distinct events (John 18:13: "they took Him to Annas first"; John 18:24: "so Annas sent Him bound to Caiaphas"), but in Dugento painted crosses they appear fused into a single scene, the Trial before Annas and Caiaphas. The subject is relatively unusual: only four of the nineteen historiatted crosses represent it.² The first three are Florentine: Cross No. 434 in the Uffizi, Coppo's San Gimignano Cross and Salerno's Pistoia Cross. The last, the Pisan Santa Marta Cross, has already been closely associated with Salerno's work, and the appearance of this scene in both crosses tends to confirm the relationship.

The essential iconographic elements of the scene remain constant in the four works; Cross No. 434³ is the earliest extant example of this basic type. Here (fig. 37) Christ stands to the left, surrounded by an angry throng of priests, Pharisees, and commoners; presumably among them are the false witnesses who have testified against Him. A soldier equipped with sword and scabbard grips the prisoner's arm. In front of the high priest's palace, comfortably ensconced on a cushioned bench, are Christ's adversaries: Caiaphas, a prime instigator

of the plot (John 18:14), and his fellow conspirator, Annas. The sham of a trial has almost ended; the witnesses have recited their spurious testimony, and Caiaphas has just challenged the defendant: "By the living God I charge you to tell us: Are you the Messiah, the Son of God?" (Matthew 26:63). Now Christ breaks His long silence and acknowledges His divinity. Enraged by Christ's answer, Caiaphas rips open his garment--a traditional Jewish response to blasphemy,⁴ Annas gestures in feigned horror, and one of the mob raises his hand to strike Christ for His audacious reply (John 18:22). The artist has thus depicted the climactic moment of the trial: the pronouncement of the verdict--guilty--and the sentence--death.

Coppo's representation of the scene (fig. 38) shares much with that of his fellow Florentine. The compositions are almost identical in the placement of the principal figures and groups. Many gestures, too, are common to both works--the threatening raised hand of the soldier, Caiaphas' theatrical cloak-tearing, and Annas' mock horror. As in his Betrayal, however, Coppo has subtly altered his model in order to heighten the drama of the scene. Minor adjustments combine to intensify the confrontation between Christ and his accusers. In Cross No. 434 Christ stood at a comfortable distance from Caiaphas--but now the soldier-escort has been omitted, and Christ stands only inches away from the raging high priest. In the earlier work a strong isocephalism ruled; here, a larger throne elevates the priests and seems to confer, through their greater physical stature, a greater sense of their sinister authority. Annas no longer merely expresses shock; he now also leans toward Christ and points ominously. Even the

mob has expanded in size: the few figures who held Christ in the Uffizi cross have now mushroomed into a swarming crowd.

Salerno, not surprisingly, duplicates his father's composition but, characteristically, dilutes its intensity (fig. 39). Like the earlier Florentine master, he places Christ at some distance from Caiaphas, so that the eyeball-to-eyeball confrontation between accuser and victim is lost. The crowd has shrunk in size, and stands slightly back instead of jostling Christ. The violent gesture of the striking soldier has been banished; instead, one finds a sedate figure who simply places his hand on Christ's back. Even Caiaphas' cloak-rending has become considerably tamer: Coppo's priest tore a gaping rupture in his garment, but in Salerno's picture the damage is reduced to a discreet slit.

Finally, the Trial on the Santa Marta Cross (fig. 40) again links its painter with Salerno. Salerno's modifications of the basic type--the elimination of the striking soldier, the addition of the figure who holds Christ by the shoulder, the tiny slit-like tear in Caiaphas' robe--all recur here. The crowd has been even further pared down--besides the soldier, only one figure, a priest, appears. The attitudes of Annas and Caiaphas have become more expressive, however--instead of inclining towards Christ, they now pull away, as if recoiling in horror. It is difficult to credit this generally unimaginative artist with such an innovation; more likely it stems from another source.⁵

This brief description makes it clear that the iconographic development of the Trial of Christ differs somewhat from that of the Betrayal. We encountered two distinct versions of the Betrayal, one

current before 1200, the other after 1200; but only a single, mid-Dugento version of the Trial has survived. Nevertheless, it will be possible to demonstrate that the very occurrence of the Trial before the Priests, like the later iconography of the Betrayal, constitutes a major break with earlier Italian tradition; that this break is almost certainly due to Byzantine influence; and that in many respects the iconography of the scene reflects Byzantine models.

Patterns of Occurrence: The Trial before the Priests versus the Trial before Pilate in Italian Painting

The first point to consider is that the Trial before Annas and Caiaphas appears to have been only rarely depicted in Italy before the mid-Dugento: the examples on the painted crosses are among the first which survive in later medieval painting.⁶ Passion cycles appear in a number of Italian churches from the eighth through the twelfth centuries: among them, Santa Maria Antiqua, San Bastianello, and Sant' Urbana alla Cafferella, all in Rome; Sant'Angelo in Formis, the Cathedral of Monreale, and San Marco in Venice. But none includes the Trial before Annas and Caiaphas; each represents instead the appearance of Christ before the Roman procurator, Pontius Pilate.⁷

The predominance of this scene comes as no surprise. Only Pilate had the authority to condemn Christ to death; the sentence passed by the Sanhedrin had to be ratified by the procurator (John 18:31-32). The trial before Pilate is thus of intrinsically greater importance than the earlier but legally inconclusive appearances before the high priests; the importance of the event is reflected in the lengthy accounts of it in both canonical and apocryphal sources.⁸ One

would therefore expect a cycle in which only one of the trials is depicted to represent the Roman rather than the Jewish trial, and virtually every major pre-Dugento church confirms this expectation.

But in Dugento painted crosses exactly the opposite situation prevails. The Trial before Pilate, despite its historical significance and despite its long history in Italian painting, occurs on only one of the nineteen crosses: the late twelfth-century work from San Frediano.⁹ Not once does the scene appear on a thirteenth-century cross; when one of the trials is represented, it is the Sanhedrin rather than the procurator who presides. The very occurrence of the Trial before Annas and Caiaphas, and especially the fact that this scene has supplanted the Trial before Pilate, therefore represents a complete reversal of Italian tradition. It seems to me that this change is comparable to the sharp break with tradition in mid-Dugento Betrayal iconography, and is likewise at least partially a result of Byzantine influence.

The Trial before the Priests versus the Trial before Pilate in Byzantine Painting

When limitations of space did not restrict the length of a cycle, Byzantine artists represented both the Trial (or Trials) before the High Priests and the Trial before Pilate. The Passion cycles at Sant'Apollinare Nuovo in Ravenna, at Qeledjlar in Cappadocia, and in a number of later monuments all show both phases of the judicial procedure.¹⁰ In less detailed cycles, however, only one of the scenes appears: sometimes Pilate, sometimes one or both priests, presides over the trial. The choice of episode seems to hinge on the date of

the specific monument: early cycles almost invariably represent the Roman trial, while later cycles frequently substitute the trial before the Jewish priests.¹¹

The substitution of the priests for the procurator in these later monuments probably stems from Byzantine attitudes towards both Pilate and the Jews.¹² The Roman governor was viewed leniently, even sympathetically, from the early years of the church, but this magnanimous attitude did not extend to the Jews; the outrage of the Crucifixion was seen as a Jewish crime.¹³ Though both notions had a venerable history in the Byzantine empire, anti-Semitism grew particularly virulent in the mid-ninth century. Basil I (867-86) launched an especially intense campaign against the Jews, which in range and cruelty far eclipsed earlier, more casual outbreaks.¹⁴ Basil's vilification of the Jews received visual expression in the Church of the Holy Apostles in Constantinople, probably decorated during his reign.¹⁵ There, several scenes vividly illustrated the villainy of the Jewish priests: they appeared bribing the guards, inveigling Pilate, and, very probably, condemning Christ.¹⁶ The Trial before the Priests also appears in psalter illumination dating from just this period: both the Pantocrator Psalter, fol. 39v., and the Khludov Psalter, fol. 3lv., illustrate Psalm 35, 11 with the Trial before the High Priest.¹⁷ The text of the psalm ("Malicious witnesses step forward") applies equally to both the Roman and the Jewish trials, for false witnesses testified on both occasions; the selection of the priest almost certainly reflects anti-Semitic sentiment. It seems probable, then, that the Trial before the Priests emerged as a fashionable theme in the later ninth century. From this point on, the scene appears frequently in

Byzantine Passion cycles, and is displaced only occasionally by the Trial before Pilate.¹⁸

It thus seems reasonable to assume that the sudden substitution, in Dugento crosses, of the Trial before the Priests for the more usual Trial before Pilate was inspired by Byzantine models. The iconography of the scene also bears a demonstrable debt to Byzantine art.

Iconography of the Trial before the Priests

Christ before Annas and Caiaphas

The first noteworthy aspect of the imagery of the scene is that, as noted above, it in fact unites two separate events, the Trial before Annas and the Trial before Caiaphas. This pairing of the two priests occurs only rarely in pre-thirteenth century Western art, despite statements to the contrary by Schiller and Sandberg-Vavalà.¹⁹ The Princeton Index lists twenty-one examples of the Trial before Annas and/or Caiaphas in Western art from the sixth through the twelfth centuries; of these, twenty depict but one of the priests, usually Caiaphas.²⁰

In Byzantine art, however, this condensation of the two episodes is fairly common. Only occasional cycles, such as the richly detailed Gospel book in Paris, gr. 74, represent the trials individually.²¹ Presumably it was the limited space of a fresco or mosaic cycle that forced the conflation of the two moments into a single scene, just as the various episodes of the Betrayal were fused into a single composition. This sort of conflation seems to have emerged in the late ninth or early tenth century²²--the same time that the composite Betrayal first appeared--and to have been especially popular in the twelfth and

early thirteenth centuries.²³ It appears, then, that the absence of the paired priests in the West and their presence in the East again suggests the likelihood of a Byzantine model, probably of the late twelfth or early thirteenth century, for the Dugento crosses.

Depiction of the individual characters

The representation of the protagonists--Christ, the mob and the priests--also can be shown to resemble Byzantine rather than Western depictions of the scene. In each of the four crosses, Christ stands, clad in tunic, mantle and sandals, and extends His right hand in a gesture of affirmation; even during this travesty of a trial, He retains His dignity and self-possession. In most Western representations of the scene, however, a different tradition prevailed, in which Christ is treated far less gently. Sometimes His hands are bound, sometimes He is dragged unceremoniously by both arms; in neither case can He raise His hand to acknowledge His divinity.²⁴ And frequently He is even stripped of His sandals and forced to walk barefoot--a form of degradation reserved for criminals.²⁵

In Byzantine art, both traditions exist. Early Christian and Early Byzantine art invest Christ with the dignity that He retains in the Dugento crosses: thus He stands unfettered, gesturing, at Sant' Apollinare Nuovo and in the Rabula Gospels.²⁶ This type continues into the Middle Byzantine period, however, and lingers even into the early thirteenth century (e.g. in Leningrad 105, fol. 103r.; fig. 41).²⁷ By the mid-eleventh century a second type, in which Christ is ignominiously bound and dragged before the priests, had also appeared.²⁸ This more progressive model probably reflects the increasing concern with

Christ's human sufferings during the Passion, and becomes the standard method of representing Christ by the late thirteenth century.²⁹ It is interesting that Italian painters seem to have avoided this type: instead all four painted crosses follow the earlier Byzantine model which stressed Christ's noble self-affirmation rather than the demeaning treatment to which He was subjected.

In each of the four painted crosses Christ is accompanied by two or more figures--representatives of the soldiers, Pharisees, and false witnesses who conspired against Him. A number of these "bit players" in the drama emerge as individual personalities, identifiable by specific actions: the soldier-escort in Cross No. 434 (fig. 37), the false witness who raises his hand to attest to his lies--a standard fixture in all but the Santa Marta Cross (fig. 40), the soldier about to strike Christ in the Uffizi and San Gimignano works (figs. 37 and 38), and the figure grasping Christ's shoulder in the Pistoia and Santa Marta Crosses (figs. 39 and 40). Though the ancestry of all four can be traced to Byzantine types, one--the soldier-escort--had been transmitted to the West as early as the eleventh century.³⁰ But the other three do not significantly resemble earlier Western figures; far closer parallels can be found in Byzantine art.

The false witnesses, for instance, in the Dugento works are invariably depicted as priests: each wears the long robe, chasuble, and cowl that are attributes of this elite group. Though the witnesses, gesturing as in Italy, had appeared in Ottonian manuscripts,³¹ there they are shown not as priests but as common people, clad in short tunics. In Middle Byzantine art, however, these perjurers

appear just as they do in the Dugento crosses, in the full regalia of a priest.³²

The striking soldier even more strongly suggests direct contact with Byzantine art. This brutal character seems to make its debut in the West in Cross No. 434 (fig. 37); no earlier Western example is known to me. The figure is clearly drawn from the Byzantine repertory of types--the identical figure had occurred in Constantinople by the eleventh century.³³ But the motif remains uncommon in earlier Comnenian art; most eleventh and early twelfth-century monuments omit it.³⁴ Later in the twelfth-century, however, it appears with increasing frequency: it occurs, for instance, in two steatite plaques, at Nereditsa (1199) and in the early thirteenth-century manuscript, Leningrad 105 (fig. 41).³⁵ The new popularity of the motif probably reflects the growing interest in dramatic gesture and emotion so vividly conveyed at Nerezi (1164).³⁶ At any rate, the presence of this character in Cross No. 434 (fig. 37) and in the San Gimignano Cross (fig. 38) again indicates that the Byzantine models circulating in Florence at mid-century were probably late Comnenian works.

Finally, the figure grasping Christ's shoulder also seems to have been directly drawn from a Byzantine source. This character, too, had been developed by the eleventh century: a similar version of the type can be seen in Paris 74, fol. 57v. (fig. 42). Further, the motif had been introduced to the West almost immediately: the figure in a mid-eleventh century Ottonian manuscript (fig. 43)³⁷ is almost identical. But neither image seems to lie behind the motif in Salerno's cross. In both eleventh-century works the soldier is shown walking, and is placed a slight distance behind Christ, so that he

must extend his arm to reach his prisoner. Salerno, on the other hand, stations the soldier much closer to Christ; the man's arm bends at a much sharper angle than that of the Ottonian figure. Just this method of representing the soldier had appeared in later twelfth-century Byzantine works: at Mirozhsky Monastery in Pskov, for instance (fig. 44),³⁸ the figure occurs almost exactly as in the Pistoia Cross. It may be significant that the striking soldier has not been included in the Pskov fresco; Salerno, too, omitted this violent motif. The close correspondence between the panel and the fresco may clarify our understanding of Salerno's methods. It has long been acknowledged that this gentle painter often modified or eliminated the expressive motifs favored by his father.³⁹ It now appears that in doing so he may simply have followed a different Byzantine model than the one which inspired Coppo.

We have already seen that the very occurrence of both Annas and Caiaphas in a single scene strongly suggests a Byzantine source, and that the two are paired especially frequently in the late twelfth century. Unusual in Byzantine art, however, is Caiaphas' enraged gesture of ripping his cloak. Particularly in Constantinople, this overt gesture of rage was avoided; certain Middle Byzantine examples depict the high priest merely sitting placidly.⁴⁰ In other examples, Caiaphas does react visibly to Christ's words, but only by standing rather than by tearing his garment. This milder expression of anger--which no doubt derives from the text of St. Mark (14:60)--occurs in the tenth and eleventh centuries and may well have existed much earlier.⁴¹

Should one conclude, then, that the use of the motif stems from Western rather than Byzantine influence? Caiaphas regularly shreds

his cloak in, for instance, Ottonian manuscripts.⁴² While it cannot be proved, it seems more likely that the motif was found in the Byzantine model current in Florence. First, Caiaphas' gesture of fury, though unusual, was not avoided entirely by Byzantine artists. It occurs in at least nine examples from the tenth to the early fourteenth century, and six of the nine date from the late twelfth century or later.⁴³ It thus seems possible that the motif appeared sporadically in Middle Byzantine art and became more acceptable in the late Comnenian period, when expressive gestures and devices gradually entered Passion cycles. At any rate the gestures of both Annas and Caiaphas in painted crosses such as Coppo's can be most closely compared to the early fourteenth century fresco at St. Nikita, Čučer (fig. 45);⁴⁴ the fresco probably mirrors a Byzantine model in a slightly later stage of development than the work which inspired the Florentine painter.

Finally, a number of details also suggest that in the depiction of the priests, Dugento artists drew their inspiration from Byzantine rather than Western models. First, the priests are shown wearing proper Byzantine cowls--the customary headgear of a high priest. In earlier Western examples, however, they either appear hatless (as in Ottonian manuscripts) or, oddly, wearing crowns--perhaps because a copyist confused them with Herod, the king before whom Christ appeared (Luke 23:7-11).⁴⁵ The large, well-upholstered footstool on which the priests rest their feet directly recalls similar objects in Byzantine painting--compare the well-padded footstool in the crosses with the one in, for instance, Leningrad 105 (fig. 41). And the lively diaper

pattern on Coppo's footstool recurs exactly in the Trial before Pilate in St. Neophytos near Ktima, executed around 1200 (fig. 46).⁴⁶

Conclusions

The conclusions of this study of the Trial before the High Priests can be summarized as follows. First, the very presence of this scene in Dugento crosses, and especially the substitution of the scene for the Trial before Pilate, represents a complete reversal of the tradition followed in earlier cycles in Italian painting. Second, this reversal must reflect exposure to Byzantine Passion cycles, a number of which, from the later ninth century on, include the Trial before the Priests and exclude the Trial before Pilate. The fact that both Annas and Caiaphas appear in the crosses further points to the probability of a Byzantine model; the priests were almost never paired in earlier Northern versions of the scene, but did appear jointly in Byzantine art. Third, several aspects of the iconography indicate a late twelfth-or early thirteenth-century date for the models used in Florence. The paired priests, the soldier slapping Christ, and Caiaphas' cloak-tearing occur occasionally earlier, but become especially popular about this time. Even a detail like Coppo's vividly patterned footstool finds a parallel in a fresco of c. 1200. Finally, differences in the minor characters in Coppo's and Salerno's representation of the scene suggests that at least two distinct versions of the scene were known to Tuscan painters: Salerno, characteristically, followed the less dramatic of the two.

These conclusions accord well with the results of the analysis of the Betrayal. There, too, a pre-Dugento tradition was swiftly and

dramatically overturned in the first half of the thirteenth century, surely at the stimulus of new Byzantine models. There, too, Florentine painters (preceded by Lucchese artists) proved especially receptive to these new ideas. In the Betrayal as in the Trial, the specific Byzantine works circulating in Florence at mid-century were probably executed no earlier than the late Comnenian period. And in both cases, more than a single type was available to Tuscan painters; at least two distinct versions of the Trial must have been known.

But if the debt of thirteenth-century painters to Byzantine sources seems indisputable, a final question still deserves attention: do any factors beyond the availability of Byzantine models explain the theme's inclusion in painted crosses? For what other reasons might this episode have displaced the Trial before Pilate?

The probable explanation for the Byzantine preference for this scene, heightened anti-Semitism, does not seem to apply in this case; no evidence exists which would suggest increased hostility towards Jews in Florence during the Dugento, and in some Tuscan centers, at least, a policy of toleration rather than repression apparently prevailed.⁴⁷ More probably the change, like the change in mid-Dugento Betrayal iconography, reflects the impact of Franciscan thought: Franciscan accounts of Christ's Passion consistently accord the trial before the priests a surprising prominence, and simultaneously tend to deemphasize the trial before Pilate. Thus Pseudo-Bede discusses the Jewish trial at great length, devoting both the meditations for Matins and for Prime to events associated with it; the actual appearance before Pilate is described relatively briefly, in the meditation for Terce.⁴⁸ St. Bonaventura, Minister General of the Order, details the

"affronts" borne by Christ: "O Lord Jesus, they bind You in the garden, they strike Your face in the house of Annas, they spit upon You in the courtyard of Caiaphas, they mock You in the palace of Herod, they make You carry the cross along the road, and crucify You on Golgotha."⁴⁹ Noticeably absent in this capsule description of the Passion--which records Christ's sufferings in the tribunals of both Annas and Caiaphas--is any mention of the Roman procurator. And Pseudo-Bonaventura, in his usually exhaustive Meditations, becomes uncharacteristically taciturn in discussing Christ's appearance before Pilate; his curiously prosaic account even omits such well-known aspects of that trial as the episode of Barrabas and the washing of the hands.⁵⁰ His description of the trial before the priests, by contrast, is far more vivid, enlivened by colorful descriptions of their glee at Christ's capture ("they rejoice like lions who have taken their prey") and recitation of the physical abuse heaped on Christ by the mob.⁵¹

Thus the mid-Dugento preference for the Jewish trial seems consistent with these Franciscan accounts, which similarly tend to emphasize it rather than Christ's appearance before Pilate.⁵² The relative prominence given the earlier trial in both text and image is, in a sense, not surprising; Christ's human suffering probably seemed more intense during the first episode, when he was harangued by the openly antagonistic priests and struck by their underlings, than in the second, where Pilate's ambivalence and vacillation set the tone of the proceedings. Byzantine Passion cycles therefore served Italian painters especially well in this case: not only did they depict the Jewish rather than the Roman trial, but in including such details as the figure striking Christ they dramatically conveyed Christ's physical

sufferings at the hands of His captors. In this case, then, Tuscan painters found in Byzantine sources an apt expression of their concern with the human reality of Christ's Passion, and it was thus to these models that they turned in formulating their own representations of Christ's trial. In the next Passion scene, the Mocking of Christ, Byzantine iconography will no longer coincide with Italian conceptions of the event, and Tuscan painters will thus set aside their Eastern models and seek inspiration elsewhere.

NOTES

¹Only Matthew and John identify the high priest as Caiaphas; in the accounts of Mark and Luke the priest remains nameless.

²Elsewhere in Dugento painting the theme is even rarer. Garrison lists nine panels which represent four or more Passion scenes; in none is the Trial represented (Index, Nos. 282, 325, 327, 348, 351, 367, 390, 412, 422). Nor, apparently, did the scene occur in Guido da Siena's San Domenico altarpiece; see the reconstruction by Stubblebine, Guido, fig. 16. Not until the very detailed cycles in Giotto's Arena Chapel and Duccio's Maestà does the Trial seem to recur in Tuscan painting (for Giotto's version see Schiller, II, fig. 193; for Duccio's, *ibid.*, fig. 19-b).

³This cross was attributed by Sirén, pp. 95-98, to the Lucchese painter Barone di Berlinghiero, and most writers of the early twentieth century concurred in ascribing it, at least, to a Lucchese artist; see, for instance, Sandberg-Vavalà, Croce dipinta, pp. 716-29. But later scholars almost universally give it to Florence; the literature is reviewed in detail by Marcucci, pp. 28-30. For more recent accounts consult Eric T. Prehn, A Thirteenth-century Crucifix in the Uffizi and the 'Maestro del San Francesco Bardi' (Edinburgh, 1958); DeWald, pp. 54-55; Prehn, "Il Crocifisso N. 434 degli Uffizi e il 'Maestro del S. Francesco Bardi'," in Aspetti della pittura medievale toscana (Florence, 1976), pp. 39-56.

⁴See, for instance, Bede's Paraentica: "consuetudinis judaicae est, cum aliquid blasphemiae et quasi contra Deum audierint, scindere vestimenta sua (P.L., XCIV, 401; quoted by Sticca, "Officium Passionis," p. 169). See also Pierson Parker, "The Trial of Jesus," The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible (1962).

⁵The Cimabuesque facial types used by the Santa Marta painter suggest the possibility that a work by Cimabue may have been the source.

⁶Only one example in Italian painting from the tenth through the twelfth century is known to me: fol. 27r. from the "Second Hamilton Psalter" (Berlin, Staatliche Museum, 78.A.5), dated by Garrison c. 1175 ("A Checklist of North Italian Geometrical Manuscripts," in Studies in the History of Medieval Italian Painting, IV [Florence, 1962], 375). Even in this example the exact subject of the scene is ambiguous: Christ appears before two seated judges, but one is probably Pilate, the other either Annas or Caiaphas. The page illustrates Psalm 27:12: "Liars stand up to give evidence against me, breathing malice." Following this line, the text inserts a reference to "Pylat, Anna et

Caypha," then continues with the psalm. The only other depiction of Christ before Pilate and a single high priest known to me occurs in a Byzantine manuscript of the early thirteenth century, Leningrad 105. fol. 103r. (fig. 41; cf. note 27). For the identification of the subject see Colwell and Willoughby, I, 242. The psalter illustration shares little iconographically with the depiction of Christ before Annas and Caiaphas as it appears in the painted crosses; it seems unlikely that such a work served as a model for the panel painters of the Dugento.

Other versions of Christ before the High Priests appear in earlier works which may be Italian. A wall painting in St. Johann, Müstair, depicts a scene, now damaged, which Schiller identifies as "Christ before the Sanhedrin" (II, fig. 187). The Müstair frescoes have not been definitely ascribed to an Italian artist, but connections with Roman painting have been noted by Grabar, Early Medieval Painting, p. 57. Finally, the Gospels of St. Augustine in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, Ms. 286, fol. 125r. (illustrated by Schiller, II, fig. 11) represents Christ before Caiaphas; Francis Wormald, The Miniatures in the Gospels of St. Augustine (Cambridge, 1954), p. 16, suggests that the manuscript comes from "some provincial Italian center."

⁷ For Santa Maria Antiqua see Guglielmo Matthiae, Pittura romana del medioevo (Rome, 1965), pp. 116-29; for the rest, see Sandberg-Vavalà, Croce dipinta, chart pp. 428-29. At San Marco (fig. 53) the Trial before Pilate, the Carrying of the Cross, and the Mocking of Christ are telescoped into a single scene. The conflation of the Trial and the Carrying of the Cross had occurred in earlier Italian painting; compare the fresco at Sant'Angelo in Formis, Schiller, II, fig. 210. The type may derive ultimately from Early Christian art; compare a relief from a North Italian casket in London, Schiller, II, fig. 206.

⁸ Matthew 27:1-26; Mark 15:1-15; Luke 23:1-6, 13-25; John 18:28-40, 19:1-16. The best-known apocryphal account is the Acta Pilati; see Montague R. James, The Apocryphal New Testament (Oxford, 1926).

⁹ Sandberg-Vavalà, Croce dipinta, fig. 381. There the scene appears in combination with the Flagellation--a purely Western development which occurs in much the same way in a tenth-century ivory relief in Munich from Milan or Reichenau, see Schiller, II, fig. 227. Pilate appears in the Flagellation in several painted crosses--see Sandberg-Vavalà, Croce dipinta, chart pp. 428-29--but only the San Frediano Cross specifically depicts the Trial before Pilate.

¹⁰ For Sant'Apollinare Nuovo see Schiller, II, figs. 185, 208; for Qeledjar see Restle, II, pls. 272, 273. Other monuments include the Constantinopolitan Gospel books in Paris, gr. 74, fols. 55v., 56v., 57r., 57v., 87v., 89r., 159v., 160v., 203v., 204r., v. (Omont, Evangelies, I, pls. 46-48, 85, 86; II, pls. 138, 173-75) and in Florence, Laur. VI, 23, fols. 56r., 57r., 160r., 161r., 206v., 208r. (Velmans, Tetraévangile, figs. 114, 116, 117, 262, 263, 296, 297); the Coptic

Gospel book in Paris, Copte 13 (see Shenouda, pp. 110-114); two Russian frescoes (Pskov, Mirozhsky Monastery, c. 1156 (fig. 44; see note 38) and Nereditsa, Church of the Savior, 1199 (Lasareff, Old Russian Murals and Mosaics [London, 1966], pp. 116-30; fig. 45); and several Serbian cycles: possibly Mileseva, Church of the Ascension (see Richard Hamann-MacLean and Horst Hallensleben, Die Monumentalmalerei in Serbien und Makedonien vom 11. bis zum frühen 14. Jahrhundert (Giessen, 1963), plan 12, IV, 133, 135), Ohrid, St. Clement (Millet-Frolow, III, pl. 8), Staro Nagoričina, St. George (Millet-Frolow, III, pl. 1) and Gračanica, St. John the Baptist (Hamann-MacLean and Hallensleben, pls. 341-42. Table I illustrates these patterns of occurrence.

¹¹Millet, pp. 44-45, was the first to note the existence of these two patterns; he suggested that the inclusion of Pilate indicated a Syrian recension, the priests a Hellenistic recension. But chronology rather than the hypothetical origin of a recension seems to determine the choice of theme. The overwhelming majority of Early Christian examples depicts Christ before Pilate rather than the high priests. Some twenty-five sarcophagi include the former (Colwell and Willoughby, 237), while the latter occurs on only a single Early Christian monument, the Brescia Lipsanotek (Schiller, II, fig. 10). In Early Byzantine art this pattern continues. Table I lists three sixth-century monuments which include only one of the trials, in each case the Trial before Pilate. From the mid-ninth through the early thirteenth centuries, the priests increasingly replace Pilate in limited cycles: the table lists twenty-seven examples of such cycles, twenty of which represent only the Jewish trial. Pilate lingers in three tenth-century Cappadocian frescoes (at Tokali Kilisse, Tchaouch-In and Sinassos-Mustafa Pasa Koy [Restle, II, pl. 75; III, pl. 310, III, XV]), in two icons from Mt. Sinai (Weitzmann, Studies, figs. 300, 302), a Cypriot fresco at St. Neophytos near Ktima (fig. 40; see note 46) and a fragmentary Gospel book, Athens, Byzantine Museum, Ms. 820 (Willoughby, "Codex 2400 and its Miniatures," Art Bulletin, 15 [1933], 3-74, fig. 69). The St. Neophytos fresco may reflect a special interest in Pilate characteristic of Cyprus; a Cypriot Passion play of the mid-thirteenth century similarly spotlights the procurator. See August C. Mahr, The Cyprus Passion Play (Baltimore, 1947), pp. 171-83, 187-89. And the Gospel book, from which only eleven scenes have survived, clearly might have included the Jewish as well as the Roman trial. The icons, however, unequivocally indicate that the inclusion of Pilate alone persisted into the late eleventh century.

¹²I would like to thank Professor Marion Roberts for this suggestion.

¹³The tendency to exonerate Pilate and focus all blame on the Jews is discussed at length by William Loerke, "The Miniatures of the Trial in the Rossano Gospels," Art Bulletin, 41 (1961), 171-95. See also Svetozar Radojčić, "The Judgement of Pilate in Byzantine Painting from the Beginning of the Fourteenth Century," Erpska Akademija Nauka,

Belgrad. Zbornik Radova, 13 (1971), 293-312 (in Serbo-Croatian, with French summary). According to Anna Jameson, The History of Our Lord (London, 1864), II, 61, the Coptic Church went so far as to consider Pilate a saint.

¹⁴ On Basil's persecution of the Jews see Andrew Scharf, Byzantine Jewry from Justinian to the Fourth Crusade (London, 1971), pp. 82-92.

¹⁵ Cyril Mango, The Art of the Byzantine Empire 312-1453: Sources and Documents (Englewood Cliffs, N. J., 1972), p. 200.

¹⁶ Mesarites discussed the first two scenes; see his Description, p. 884. Millet, p. 45, assumes the presence of the Trial before Annas and Caiaphas.

¹⁷ For the Pantocrator Psalter (Mount Athos, Monastery of the Pantocrator, Cod. 61) see Dufrenne, L'Illustration des psautiers grecs, I, pl. 5; for the Khludov Psalter see Grabar, Iconoclasme byzantin, pp. 196-98. The Theodore Psalter (fol. 39r.; Der Nersessian, L'Illustration des psautiers grecs, II, fig. 67), the Barberini Psalter (Rome, Vatican Museum, Barb. gr. 372, fol. 54r), and a second psalter in the Vatican, gr. 1927, fol. 57r. (Ernest DeWald, The Illustrations in the Manuscripts of the Septuagint, III: Psalms and Odes, I: Vaticanus Graecus 1927 [Princeton, 1941] pl. XVI) also illustrate Psalm 35 with the scene; the Theodore Psalter and the Barberini Psalter, however, add Pilate to the group. See below, note 40. Fol. 2r of the Theodore Psalter (Der Nersessian, L'Illustration des psautiers grecs, II, fig. 3) also uses the Trial before Annas and Caiaphas to illustrate Psalm 2:2 ("the rulers take counsel against the Lord"). Complete sets of photographs for all manuscripts can be found in the Princeton Index.

¹⁸ For these examples see note 11.

¹⁹ Schiller, II, 57; Sandberg-Vavalà, Croce dipinta, p. 244: Elizabetta Lucchesi-Palli, Die Passions- und Endszenen Christi auf der Ciboriumsaule von San Marco in Venedig (Prag, 1942), p. 62, correctly notes the rarity of the paired priests in the West. For other iconographic studies consult Réau, II, pt. 2, 444-46; K. Laske, "Synedrium," Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie (1972); Sticca, "Officium Passionis," pp. 168-70.

²⁰ The sole exception is the Mûstair fresco cited in note 6.

²¹ Some later Serbian frescoes, such as the cycles at Staro Nagoričina and Gračanica, also depict Christ's appearances before the priests separately. See note 10.

²² The earliest Byzantine examples are the Qeledjlar fresco (see note 10) and a manuscript in Paris, gr. 115, noted by Millet (p. 138,

p. 641). However, one Early Christian monument, the Brescia Lipsanotek (Schiller, II, fig. 10), also shows Christ appearing before two priests. Conceivably the Macedonian works stem from a similar Early Christian source; Weitzmann, "The Character and Origins of the Macedonian Renaissance," in *Studies*, pp. 176-223, has demonstrated the reliance of tenth century artists on such models.

²³ Of the nine examples of the Trial before the Priest(s) from this period, six represent both Annas and Caiaphas. See Table I.

²⁴ Ottonian manuscripts invariably depict Him this way; see Schiller, II, figs. 186, 188, 189, 200. See also the examples of Christ bound before Pilate, Schiller, II, figs. 212-19.

²⁵ Schiller, II, 57.

²⁶ Ravenna: Schiller, II, fig. 185; Rabula Gospels, fol. 12v.: Loerke, fig. 4.

²⁷ For the date of this manuscript see Carr, p. 316.

²⁸ Among the earliest examples is the lectionary at Dionysiou, No. 587, fol. 95r. (*Treasures of Mount Athos*, pl. 228); others include two manuscripts in the Vatican, gr. 1156, fol. 194v. (unpublished) and gr. 1927, fol. 57r. (see note 17). Colwell and Willoughby, I, 241, observe that the earlier representations depict Christ unbound, and that only later are His hands tied.

²⁹ Christ is, without exception, bound before the high priests and Pilate in Serbian frescoes; see Millet-Frolow, III, pls. 8, 24, 86, 87.

³⁰ The motif is ultimately Byzantine--it appears, for instance, in the Florence Gospel Book and in Coptic 13 (see note 10)--but was introduced early to the West, as Ottonian manuscripts testify (Schiller, II, fig. 189). The soldier is equipped with scabbard and sword, as in Cross No. 434, in a contemporary German altarpiece from St. Egidius, Quelinburg; see Schiller, II, fig. 215. That panel, however, represents Christ before Pilate. The motif persists in German painting through the fifteenth century (Schiller, II, figs. 216, 17).

³¹ Schiller, II, fig. 202.

³² For instance, in Paris 74, fol. 97r., Omont, *Évangiles*, I, pl. 85.

³³ Paris 74, fol. 204r., Omont, *Évangiles*, II, pl. 173.

³⁴ Among the monuments which exclude the motif are the Florence Gospel Book (see note 10), the Theodore Psalter, the Barberini Psalter (for both see note 17); Vat. gr. 1156 (note 28) and Vat. gr. 1927 (note 17); two Cappadocian frescoes at Irhala, Kokar Kilisse and Purenli Seki Kilisse (Restle, III, pls. 482, 487); and the fresco at Pskov (fig. 44; see note 38).

³⁵ For the steatite plaques, at the Walters Gallery, Baltimore and the Benaki Museum, Athens, see the recent dissertation by Ioli Maxeiner, "Steatite Carvings of the Middle Byzantine Period," University of California, Berkeley, 1977. For the fresco at Nereditsa see note 10.

³⁶ For this trend and its effect on Passion iconography see Chapter I, note 40.

³⁷ Echternach, Golden Gospels of Henry III, Escorial, Cod. Vetrinas 17, fol. 82r. Both manuscripts (figs. 42 and 43) represent Christ before Pilate.

³⁸ The fresco cycle is dated c. 1156; see Lasareff, Old Russian Murals, pp. 100-104.

³⁹ Coor, "Visual Basis," p. 239.

⁴⁰ In the Khludov Psalter and the Pantocrator Psalter (see note 17) the priest simply sits, impassive and motionless. In a number of other monuments--Qeledjar (see note 10), Kiev (Millet, p. 641), the Vatican Psalter (see note 17), Pskov (fig. 44), and Nereditsa (see note 10)--the priests are partially concealed by a table placed in front of them, which makes it difficult to tell if they are seated or standing. The table was originally an attribute of Pilate; see Loerke, p. 178. But this sort of interpolation of images is not at all uncommon; the striking soldier, for instance, which technically should appear only in the scene of Christ before Annas (see John 18:22), also surfaces in the Trial before Pilate (Sinai icon; Weitzmann, Studies, fig. 302). An ancestor of the Pskov fresco (fig. 44), where the Roman trial adjoins the Jewish trial, probably explains an image like fol. 39r. of the Theodore Psalter (see note 17); there, Annas, Caiaphas, and Pilate are seated together at a table. The copyist of the Barberini Psalter, who clearly worked from a model very close to the Theodore Psalter, further compounded the confusion by transforming Pilate into a high priest--thereby creating an image which Millet misleadingly describes as Christ before a three-member Sanhedrin (p. 635).

⁴¹ Paris, gr. 115, fol. 132r. (noted by Millet, p. 641); Dionysiou 587, fol. 95r. (see note 28); the Florence Gospel book, fol. 56r. (see note 10); the Theodore Psalter, fol. 2r. (see note 17); and Paris suppl. gr. 914, fol. 146v. (noted by Millet, p. 641). In the seventh-century Gospel book of St. Augustine (see note 6), Caiaphas both stands and rends his garments.

⁴²Schiller, II, figs. 186, 188, 189.

⁴³These monuments are designated by an asterisk (*) in Table I. Further misappropriation of attributes can be seen in a fourteenth-century fresco in the Monastery of Markov (Millet-Frolow, IV, pl. 85): there, Annas rends his garment, but Caiaphas (*ibid.*, pl. 94) does not.

⁴⁴For the paintings at Čučer see the recent study by Tania Velmans, La peinture murale byzantine à la fin du Moyen Âge, I, Bibliothèque des Cahiers Archéologiques, XI (Paris, 1977), 223-24.

⁴⁵A twelfth-century manuscript in London, Victoria and Albert Museum, Ms. 661, recto, depicts Caiaphas crowned; see C. M. Kauffmann, Romanesque Manuscripts 1066-1190, A Survey of Manuscripts Illuminated in the British Isles, III (London, 1975), fig. 179. The crown also appears in the "Second Hamilton Psalter" (see note 6). For Ottonian examples of the bare-headed priests see Schiller, II, figs. 186, 188, 189.

⁴⁶On this cycle see Mango and Hawkins, pp. 121-206.

⁴⁷Salo Wittmayer Baron, A Social and Religious History of the Jews, 2nd ed., rev., X (New York, 1965), 275, discusses the position of Jews in Florence in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. He notes (pp. 273-74) that at this time Siena passed a series of statutes extending Jews' civil rights.

⁴⁸On the authorship of Pseudo-Bede's tract see Chapter 1, note 109; for the text of Matins see P.L., XCIV, 563-64; Prime, 564-65; Terce, 565-66. The meditation for force includes, in addition, the Trial before Herod, the Flagellation, the Crowning with Thorns, and the Way to Calvary.

⁴⁹On the Perfection of Life, Addressed to Sisters; Works, I, 209-55; for the passage cited, see p. 241.

⁵⁰Pseudo-Bonaventura's account simply states: "He is led, then, to Pilate, and those women who cannot draw near follow at a distance. At this time He was accused by them of many things, and Pilate sent Him to Herod" (Ragusa and Green, p. 328). Next follows a description of the trial before Herod, Pilate's order of the Flagellation, the scourging itself, the Crowning with thorns, and the Ecce Homo. The final reference to Pilate's sentence concludes this section: "Then the whole multitude of Jews demands that He be crucified; and thus He is condemned by Pilate, the miserable judge" (*ibid.*, p. 330).

⁵¹*Ibid.*, p. 326.

⁵² Something of the same emphasis may be detected in St. Francis' Office of the Passion, though it is less pronounced. For the most part the readings which allude to the trials apply equally to both phases of the judicial procedure, but one passage suggests the first rather than the second: "Insult has broken my heart, and I am weak; I looked for sympathy, but there was none; for comforters, and I found none" (Omnibus, p. 143; from Psalm 68:20-21). The utter absence of any "sympathy" or "comforters" is clearly more appropriate to the trial before the Sanhedrin, in which Annas and Caiaphas were unswerving in their determination to condemn Christ, than to the trial before Pilate, where the Roman procurator, beset by doubts, found himself arguing in Christ's behalf.

CHAPTER III

THE MOCKING OF CHRIST

Immediately after the high priest pronounced Christ guilty of blasphemy, the throng set upon Him and mocked His admission that He was the Messiah, the Son of God. They spat at Him, then blindfolded Him, struck Him in the face, and challenged Him to identify His assailant: "Prophecy!" (Matthew 26:67-68; Mark 14:65; Luke 22:63-64).¹ This episode, sometimes called the Buffeting of Christ, was not the only instance in which Christ was the butt of His captors' ridicule; a closely related incident followed Christ's appearance before Pilate, when the procurator's soldiers similarly amused themselves with their prisoner. In this case it was His claim of kingship that they derided: they bedecked Him with trappings of royalty--a purple robe, a crown of thorns, a reed as sceptor--and bowed before Him, crying, "Hail, King of the Jews!" (Matthew 27:27-31; Mark 15:17-19; John 19:2-3).² In this second Mocking--also known as the Crowning with Thorns--as in the first, Christ's tormentors did not content themselves with mere verbal abuse: the soldiers, too, spat at Christ and struck Him, but with reeds rather than their bare hands. Such common details, as well as the general similarities between the two episodes, gradually led, in representations of the Mocking, to a blurring of the distinctions between the two; as Sandberg-Vavalà has observed, "i due principali episodi della Derisione vanno inestricabilmente confusi."³ Because of the frequent migration of motifs from one episode to another, the two can be most conveniently treated as a single iconographic theme.

Though the Mocking occurs more frequently than the Trial of Christ, it does not seem to have been especially favored by the Dugento: only six painted crosses include the scene. Apparently unknown in Lucchese and in early Florentine works, it first emerges in Pisa, on Cross No. 15; it recurs on two later Pisan works, the San Martino and the Santa Marta Crosses. But long after its appearance on Pisa No. 15, the Mocking occurs on the Sienese cross by the Tressa Master. Finally, the scene seems to have enjoyed a brief period of popularity in Florence at mid-century: both Uffizi No. 434 and Coppo's San Gimignano Cross depict it. But the subject remains uncommon throughout the century: aside from the painted crosses, it occurs, to my knowledge, only twice in Tuscan Dugento painting.⁴

The representation of the Mocking on Pisa No. 15⁵ (fig. 47) primarily reflects the second episode, in which Pilate's soldiers paid pseudo-homage to Christ's kingship. The thronging crowd surrounding Christ includes several figures wearing the helmet and cape of the miles. One, standing just to Christ's left, is about to place on His head a curiously textured, cone-shaped hat which presumably represents the crown of thorns. A second hands Christ the reed which serves as His scepter and genuflects ostentatiously before Him. A number of other figures, some wearing whimsically shaped headgear, brandish spears or staves--the reeds with which they assaulted Christ. Yet none of the mob actually strikes the prisoner with these weapons; instead, several menace Him with bare fists or the palm of the hand, as described by the evangelists in the first episode of the Mocking. Despite the carnival-like atmosphere, Christ retains His dignity:

oblivious to the jeers and threats, He stands erect and raises His left hand in quiet affirmation of His true kingship.

The scene occurs next two or three decades later, on the Tressa Master's cross in Siena.⁶ The condition of the cross permits only the barest outlines of the composition to be perceived; the general form, with Christ standing, frontal, in the center recalls Pisa No. 15. Here, however, not one but two figures kneel in mock reverence before Him, one on either side; and He carries the reed-scepter at a forty-five degree angle instead of perpendicular to the ground. Though other points may have also distinguished the two representations, the current state of the Siena Cross precludes further discussion.

Enrico Tedice's San Martino Cross, executed perhaps twenty years after the Siena Cross, also includes a version of the Mocking (fig. 48). Here, however, the scene shares almost nothing with the earlier examples, for Enrico clearly represents the Buffeting of Christ rather than the Crowning with Thorns. Christ, now shown in profile, walking from left to right, is blindfolded, and His tormentors, none of whom is specifically identified as a soldier, raise their arms to strike Him with the palm of the hand. Both the blindfold and the outstretched palms of the thugs thus indicate Enrico's intention to depict the Buffeting; no motifs properly belonging to the Crowning here intrude. As the moment has changed, so has the mood. Christ has shed the imperturbable stoicism of Pisa No. 15 (and presumably of the Siena Cross) and bows His head as if to shield Himself from the blows; further, His hands are now bound, so that He cannot gesture in serene affirmation.

These examples thus seem to present two distinct modes of depicting the Mocking: in the first, as shown in Pisa No. 15 and the Siena Cross, the artist represents the Crowning with Thorns, with an occasional detail borrowed from the Buffeting; in the second, seen only in the San Martino Cross, the artist portrays the Buffeting, unadulterated by motifs derived from the Crowning. But this general fidelity to the biblical text changes considerably with the next Mocking, that on Uffizi No. 434 (fig. 49). At first glance it might appear that the first episode, the Buffeting, is intended: Christ is blindfolded, and lacks both the crown of thorns and the scepter. Yet Christ's tormentors do not raise their hands to strike Christ, as they should in the Buffeting, and two details have been appropriated from the second episode, the Crowning: one thug kneels before Christ in a parody of obeisance, and a second strikes Him on the head with a reed. It has thus become impossible to identify the specific moment depicted; the two are indeed "inestricabilmente confusi." Further, two aspects of the iconography cannot be explained by the evangelists' accounts of either episode. First, Christ is now seated; He stood in each earlier version of the scene. Second, a new torment has appeared: to the cacophony of the mob's taunts and catcalls has been added the blare of a ram's horn or shofar sounded by the figure on the far left. As in Enrico's representation, Christ no longer seems impervious to the barrage of verbal and physical abuse: His hands rest limply on His knees instead of gesturing in calm self-assertion, and His head, once held erect, now droops. Thus, in mid-Dugento Florence, an entirely new composition seems to have evolved: one which fuses the most dramatic

motifs from each moment of the Mocking and presents us with a poignant new image of a suffering Christ.

In view of the expressionistic power of this new composition, it is not surprising to find Coppo, in his San Gimignano Cross (fig.50), following it rather closely. Christ's central, enthroned placement, His blindfolded eyes, bowed head, and limply resting arms all directly echo the earlier Florentine work. The thug who strikes Christ's hand with the reed recurs, as does the one who kneels to the left. Despite his general reliance on the formula, however, Coppo characteristically modifies his model. For instance, he conflates the horn-player with the mock-worshipper; he endows this figure, like a number of his cronies, with the long robes and cowl of a priest; and he places a small tower to either side of the composition. Still more characteristic of Coppo are the modifications which heighten the dramatic impact of the scene. He elevates Christ, so that the pathos of the bowed head stands out more starkly against the gold ground. Further, he increases the number of afflictions which Christ must bear: one of the mob raises a threatening hand, as if to strike the prisoner; now not one but two thugs assault Christ with reeds; not one but two blast away on their horns—one of which is held perilously close to Christ's ear. As in the Trial of Christ, then, Coppo reveals his debt to the new models circulating in Florence at mid-century, but alters his model to convey the human reality of the Passion in still stronger terms.

The final painted cross to depict the Mocking is the Pisan Santa Marta Cross (fig. 51).⁷ As he has before, the Santa Marta Master draws heavily from a Coppesque model; consider the elevated placement of Christ, the musician blowing his horn directly into Christ's ear,

and the pair of thugs smiting Him with reeds. But, as with the Trial, the mob is pared down sharply--only a handful of figures join in the burlesque--and the architectural background is expanded--a wall and massive building now loom behind the figures. Other minor differences include the elimination of the priest's garb for the figures and the addition of a second kneeling "worshipper" opposite the first. But this unaspiring painter makes no significant iconographic changes; he is essentially content to restate Coppo's composition.

Thus, the iconographic development of the Mocking in Tuscan painted crosses seems, at first glance, consistent with that of the Betrayal and Trial: one formula--that seen in Pisa No. 15 and the Siena Cross--governs the late twelfth and early thirteenth-century depictions, while a second (and, because Enrico represents the Buffet-ing, a third as well) emerges at mid-century and supplants the earlier composition. It is tempting to assume that the usual factors lie behind this development: that the earlier type represents a scheme long established in the West, and that the mid-Dugento models reflect a new Byzantine composition introduced to Italy in the wake of the Fourth Crusade. But an examination of the iconography of the Mocking in earlier Italian and Byzantine painting will reveal that this assumption is seriously flawed: while the earlier scheme does generally follow a traditional Italian type, the later formulae depend only in details on a stimulus from the East.

The First Type and its Dependence on Earlier Western Iconography

The basic reliance of the Mocking in Pisa No. 15 (fig. 47) and the Siena Cross on a type with a long history in the West can be easily

demonstrated. Though the type ultimately reflects Byzantine patterns,⁸ the essential features of the composition--the standing, frontal, impassive figure of Christ, the symmetrical placement of the thugs, the "worshipper" kneeling before Him--all appear earlier in both Italy and Northern Europe: the most notable Italian examples are the late eleventh-century fresco in Sant'Angelo in Formis (fig. 52) and, roughly contemporary with Pisa No. 15, the mosaic in San Marco (fig. 53).⁹ Even in its present condition, the Sienese example can be seen to resemble these works especially closely. In all three, two or more thugs, not only one, kneels before Christ; in all three, He holds the "scepter" before them, a foot or so off the ground, instead of planting it directly on the ground to the left; in none does He raise His left hand. It seems likely that other details as well, unfortunately no longer decipherable, would have similarly revealed the Sienese painter's close reliance on the Sant'Angelo prototype.

But the Pisan version, while generically related to this prototype and its progeny, differs from them in a number of specific features. Besides the presence of a single kneeler, the manner in which Christ holds the "scepter," and His gesture, the Pisan Mocking deviates from earlier Italian examples in the transient nature of the proceedings: phases of the Mocking are represented in progress rather than completed. Thus, the soldiers are here depicted in the act of crowning Christ, and a thug is depicted in the act of handing Him the "scepter." Both details, unparalleled in earlier extant Italian depictions of the Mocking, occur with some frequency in transalpine, and specifically German, works of the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Ottonian Mockings almost invariably represent the very moment of the

crowning, though usually only one soldier performs the deed;¹⁰ in a manuscript from Echternach, however, a pair of soldiers is shown placing the crown on Christ's head, just as in the Pisan cross.¹¹ In two twelfth-century German works, the ceiling panel of St. Martin in Zillis (fig. 54) and the Missal of Odalricus,¹² the crowning is similarly a joint enterprise; at Zillis Christ's exact gesture recurs.

The motif of the thug shown in the act of handing Christ His "scepter" can likewise be traced to Ottonian art; it occurs, for example, in the gold antependium of Aachen Cathedral¹³ (fig. 55). Any number of other details--the single kneeler, the way Christ holds the "scepter," the staffs held by the mob, their oddly shaped caps, the embroidered hems of their tunics, and even the curiously woven texture of the crown of thorns, also find their closest antecedents in German monuments.¹⁴ It appears, then, that the Pisan painter, though he did not deviate in iconographic essentials from a type pervasive in Italy, had probably come into contact with German models.¹⁵ But the strongly Northern flavor of Pisa No. 15's Mocking is not inconsistent with the pattern of development that emerged in the Betrayal and the Trial of Christ: in both of those subjects, the pre-Dugento image had its closest affinities with established Western versions of the scene, whether Northern or Italian.

Mid-Dugento Types: Northern Elements

The San Martino Cross

At this point, however, the pattern evidenced in the first two Passion scenes breaks down: the two new types which appear in mid-Dugento Tuscany do not principally rely on direct contact with

Byzantine models. One of the new images, Enrico's Buffeting of Christ (fig. 48), probably stems ultimately from a Byzantine formula. The Buffeting appeared in such fully illustrated Gospel books as Laur. VI. 23 and Paris 74;¹⁶ fol. 58r. and 160r. of the former (figs. 56 and 57) are generally comparable to Enrico's version in the isocephalic composition and the stance of Christ, who is shown in both walking from left to right. But Enrico hardly introduced the type to the West; it had appeared as early as the mid-eleventh century in Ottonian manuscripts (such as the Golden Gospels of Henry III, fol. 82r.; fig. 43). Though Enrico undoubtedly worked from another model, the Ottonian Gospel book seems almost a direct link between Laur. VI. 23 and the Pisan work; it shares with the Byzantine composition the curiously spasmodic, "dancing" posture of the thug on the far right¹⁷ and anticipates Enrico's image in the upraised, open palms of the mob. For the specific treatment of Christ, who appears blindfolded, with head bowed, Enrico relied on another source, presumably one similar to an English Book of Hours of the 1230's or 1240's illuminated by W. de Brailes (fol. 1r.; fig. 58).¹⁸ Whatever the exact sources of this remarkably eclectic painter, it seems clear that his composition more closely resembles Western versions of the scene than any extant Byzantine model.

Uffizi No. 434, the San Gimignano Cross and the Santa Marta Cross

But Enrico's Mocking is something of an anomaly--an image only rarely used in earlier Italian painting¹⁹ and later, to my knowledge, not at all. Far more important, both for the thirteenth century and for the later development of the scene, is the type apparently

introduced by the Master of Cross 434 (fig. 49). Quickly adopted by Coppo and very possibly, slightly later, by Cimabue,²⁰ this new image continued into the Trecento, the Quattrocento, and even the Cinquecento.²¹ But, though the new versions of the Betrayal and the Trial circulating in mid-Dugento Florence originated with late twelfth- or early thirteenth-century Byzantine models, the East did not provide the primary source of inspiration for the new Mocking.

A brief examination of the development of the scene in Byzantine art will reveal that its iconography is remarkably consistent. By the mid-eleventh century a standard composition had evolved which persisted, essentially unchanged, into the Paleologan era. Among the earliest extant examples of this canonical type are those found in Paris 74 (fol. 55v.--fig. 59; fol. 98v.--fig. 60); here, in contrast to the versions of the Mocking in the contemporary Gospel book in Florence (figs. 56 and 57), the composition has taken on a static, hieratic appearance. Christ stands, in a purely frontal pose, in the center of the composition, flanked by two symmetrically placed soldiers; the scene has lost the narrative flavor of Laur. VI. 23 and now has the timeless, formal character of a ritual, or an icon.²² The infusion of such hieratic elements into Middle Byzantine iconography has been discussed at length by Weitzmann, who relates the phenomenon to the popularity of the lectionary; Weitzmann specifically stresses the impact of a lectionary cycle on Paris 74.²³ This new composition (which was introduced almost immediately into Italy, as the Sant' Angelo fresco [fig. 52] demonstrates) continues into the twelfth century (Vatican, gr. 1927, fol. 57r.--fig. 61; Gelat Gospel Book --fig. 62)²⁴ and presumably into the thirteenth; it recurs in late thirteenth-

and early fourteenth-century Serbian frescoes (Prilep, St. Nicolas--fig. 63; Čučer, St. Nikita--fig. 64; Staro Nagoričina, St. George--fig. 65).²⁵ In each surviving example Christ stands, with head held erect, and directs His unflinching gaze at, or beyond, the viewer. In no case known to me is He shown seated, as in Cross No. 434; in no case is He blindfolded, and in no case is His head bowed.²⁶ It therefore becomes impossible to attribute the sudden appearance of these features in mid-Dugento Tuscany to a Byzantine model; another source must have inspired the change.

With Byzantium eliminated, the most probable origin for such a source becomes Northern Europe, and even a brief examination of Northern versions of the Mocking will establish this probability as fact. Each of the motifs noted above--Christ's seated posture, His blindfold, and His bowed head--can be traced to pre-Dugento Northern models. Though the standing Christ persists into the late thirteenth century,²⁷ a seated type had been introduced almost three hundred years earlier; perhaps the first surviving example is the Aachen antependium of about 1020 (fig. 55). The reasons for the change in the iconographic type have not been established: Schiller, one of the few scholars who examines the question at all, simply states that "it is typical of the period to bring the image of the exalted Christ, the Majestas Domini, into scenes of the Passion."²⁸ A more specific explanation is suggested by the fact that the Aachen Christ is seated not on a throne but, incongruously, on what appears to be a mound of rubble. This unexpected detail leads one to consider possible connections between the new image and the iconography of Job, mocked by his friends or his wife and seated on a dunghill; in the ninth through

twelfth centuries Job at times appears seated frontally, on a loosely packed mass of dung, confronted by figures who gesture in much the same way as the soldiers in the Aachen antependium (figs. 66, 67, 68).²⁹ The torments of Job, who like Christ was mocked and spat upon (Job 30:1-10), had been interpreted as a prefiguration of the Passion of Christ since the early days of the Church; the typological parallel was specifically discussed in Gregory the Great's widely circulated Moralia in Job. It is possible, in fact, that passages from this text, and their relevance to the political and religious situation in Germany in the early eleventh century, explain the sudden iconographic change.³⁰ Regardless of the factors underlying the change, the new seated Christ spread from Germany to England, then to France;³¹ by the second half of the thirteenth century, it had all but supplanted the older version. The Northern derivation of this aspect of the new image in Italy thus seems indisputable.³²

Just as certainly can the motif of the blindfold be traced to Northern Europe; in this case the origin of the motif seems to be English. The blindfold makes its first appearance in the St. Albans Psalter of about 1120, and for the next hundred years, nearly every instance of this detail occurs in an English work.³³ By the middle of the thirteenth century, however, the blindfold has migrated to other countries; it appears, for instance, in a miniature from Beauvais (fig. 69) about the same time that it first occurs in Tuscany.³⁴ Again, then, mid-Dugento Tuscan painters unequivocally reveal their knowledge of a Northern source.

The final detail which suggests Northern inspiration for works like the Mocking in Cross No. 434 is the bowed head of Christ. This

motif almost certainly originated in France, in the late twelfth or early thirteenth century; an early example occurs in the stained glass window in Sainte Chapelle, Paris (fig.70).³⁵ Despite the expressive poignancy of this new detail, English and German depictions of the Mocking avoid it; throughout the thirteenth century both continue to represent Christ with head erect, stoically enduring the assaults of His antagonists.³⁶ The Dugento, however, showed no such reluctance to convey the physical reality of Christ's sufferings; in the hands of the mid-century Florentines, Christ's enfeebled state frequently comes through even more vividly than in their French models.³⁷

The likelihood of Northern sources for the Mocking in mid-Dugento Tuscany therefore becomes a virtual certainty. Though each of the three motifs just discussed probably originated in a different region of Northern Europe, both Christ's seated posture and His blindfold had been transmitted to France by about 1250, as the Beauvais manuscript (fig. 69) indicates. The union of the three features in such a work, as well as the extensive commercial contacts between Tuscany and France at this time,³⁸ underlines the likelihood that a French model served the Master of Cross 434 as the basis of his composition. Regardless of the exact geographical origin of our painter's model, however, it remains clear that, in contrast to the Betrayal and the Trial, the radical transformation of the iconography of the Mocking stems from a Northern rather than an Eastern source. Thus Stubblebine's theory of the "exclusive domination of Constantinople"³⁹--an assumption implicitly accepted by most modern analysts of Dugento painting⁴⁰--is not entirely accurate. Even during the zenith of

Byzantine influence in Italy, Tuscan painters, at least at times, rejected Eastern compositions and adopted instead a distinctly non-Byzantine type.

Mid-Dugento Types: Byzantine Elements

Uffizi No. 434

And yet the situation is still more complex: the new image which appears in Cross No. 434 cannot be fully explained by adducing a model like the Beauvais psalter. Even a cursory comparison of the two reveals that the Italian painter has included a number of details absent in the French work: the sizeable crowd which surrounds Christ, the kneeling "worshipper," the figure assaulting Christ with the reed, and the horn-player. It is most unlikely that these features stem from any French model: in the great majority of thirteenth-century French Mockings, only a few thugs taunt Christ,⁴¹ and the specialized torments inflicted by individuals like the "worshipper," the reed-bearer and the horn-player are only rarely present.⁴² Thus, in spite of the undeniably strong resemblance between the figures of Christ in the Italian and French Mockings, it seems that for certain aspects of his composition the Italian painter probably relied on another source.

One possibility for this hypothetical "second source" is another model from Northern Europe, presumably Germany or England. Both the kneeling Figure and the reed-bearer not infrequently appear in versions of the scene from both regions.⁴³ But the mob, in twelfth and thirteenth-century representations, almost never numbers more than four, and frequently is restricted to two, as Schiller correctly observes;⁴⁴ the horn-player is entirely unknown. The absence of these details,

coupled with the generally scanty evidence that German or English models ever played more than a peripheral role in the development of the Dugento, suggests that our painter relied on another source for these aspects of his composition.

A more likely source for these details is the repertory of motifs in earlier Italian iconography, and some details may well reflect such a source. The "worshipper," for instance, routinely kneels before Christ in pre-Dugento Italian Mockings, and the large crowd and the reed-bearer occur at least once, at Sant'Angelo (fig. 52). But neither the crowd nor the reed-bearer can accurately be called typical of earlier Italian representations; both remain extremely uncommon throughout the twelfth century.⁴⁵ And in Italy as in Northern Europe, the horn-player is entirely unprecedented. The infrequent appearance of the reed-bearer and the crowd, and the complete absence of the horn-player, thus casts some doubt on the likelihood that an earlier Italian Mocking provided our painter with these secondary features of his composition.

A final possibility is that our painter drew from roughly contemporary Byzantine models. The reed-bearer makes its initial appearance in the eleventh century (Paris 74--figs. 59 and 60) and thereafter, though it remains relatively uncommon, occurs in twelfth-, thirteenth-, and fourteenth-century representations.⁴⁶ The considerable size of the mob points more specifically to a date in the late twelfth or early thirteenth century; early twelfth-century versions such as Vat. gr. 1927 (fig. 61) generally pare the crowd to only a few figures, but one late twelfth-century example, the Gelat Gospel Book (fig. 62), depicts Christ flanked by an enormous throng of antagonists, and in the

late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, versions of the Mocking similarly represent a swarming horde of thugs partaking in the merriment. Particularly close to the treatment of the mob in Cross No. 434 is that in the Staro Nagoričina Mocking (fig. 65): in both works the crowd stands back slightly from Christ, then forms a compact mass of which the top descends in a gently sloping diagonal. Both Staro Nagoričina and the earlier Gospel book in Gelat share several specific details with the Italian version: a preponderance of figures with flowing white beards,⁴⁷ several thugs exchanging sinister glances, and, in both the Gospel book and the painted cross, a bearded figure on the far right who motions toward the prisoner with exactly the same gestures.

The most telling detail, however, is the figure sounding a horn or trumpet. As noted above, this curious feature is entirely unknown in the West until its apparent introduction in the Mocking on Cross No. 434.⁴⁸ Unfortunately no early or mid-thirteenth-century Byzantine Mocking has survived, but at the end of the century, at Prilep (fig. 63), one encounters not merely one horn-blower but a pair, accompanied by a flutist and a cymbalist. Nor is Prilep an isolated example; the sadistic ensemble at Čučer (fig. 64) consists of two horn-blowers and a drummer, and at Staro Nagoričina (fig. 65) two horn-blowers, a flutist, a cymbalist and a drummer add their raucous concerto to the jeers and hoots of the mob.

One can only speculate as to the reasons for this musical intrusion: neither the canonical accounts nor the apocryphal texts known to me provides any justification for their presence. Music was, however, very commonly associated with the worship of the Lord in the

Old Testament, and the specific instruments seen here--the horn or trumpet, flute, cymbals and drum--are frequently mentioned in this context.⁴⁹ The musical instruments may therefore simply represent another expression of mock reverence, another perversion of true worship; because Jews are among those mocking Christ, it seems especially appropriate that they should use a traditionally Jewish means of paying tribute to God.

But music and song had other connotations in the Old Testament; they are sometimes associated with mocking and derision. Lamentations 3:14, for instance, states: "I was a derision to all my people, and their song all the day," and similar imagery appears in Job 30:1-9: "Now they that are younger than I hold me in derision....Now am I their song, yea, I am their byword." In fact, two specific details seen at Čučer (fig. 64) and Staro Nagoričina (fig. 65) may be directly derived from the Book of Job: in both, the musicians are joined by dancers who cavort about at Christ's feet, and in both, the dancers are depicted as children.⁵⁰ Responding to the cries and taunts of his friends, Job curses the wicked, and laments: "They send forth their little ones like a flock, and their children dance. They take the timbrel and harp, and rejoice at the sound of the flute" (Job 21:11-12). The combination of musical instruments and dancing children seen in these Byzantine works may thus allude to the torments of Job, who in the East as well as the West was viewed as a prefiguration of Christ.⁵¹

Whatever the explanation for the cacophonous assault of these musicians, it does not seem unreasonable to assume that some connection exists between them and the horn-player in Cross No. 434. The single trumpeter may well represent an embryonic phase of the motif that had

developed, by the late thirteenth century, into a group of four musicians, and, by the early fourteenth century, into a group of five. It seems plausible, at any rate, to posit the existence of the motif in Byzantine Mockings earlier in the thirteenth century,⁵² and to assume that such a model explains the presence of the trumpeter in Cross No. 434. The exact placement of the trumpeter, who blows his instrument high into the air, most closely resembles the corresponding figure at Čučer or Staro Nagoričina.

It appears most likely, then, that the painter of the Uffizi cross derived certain details of his Mocking from near-contemporary Byzantine works. Two points--the exact treatment of the crowd and the placement of the trumpeter--suggest that our painter worked from a model similar to that which later served the fresco painters at Staro Nagoricina.

The San Gimignano Cross

Though Coppo's Mocking (fig. 50) depends largely on the earlier Florentine composition (fig. 49), he too worked from Eastern sources; he apparently used a different model than that known to his predecessor, for he incorporates Byzantine details that do not appear in the Mocking on Cross No. 434. For instance, he identifies a number of Christ's tormentors as priests more clearly than did his Florentine predecessor by covering their heads with cowls. Cowled priests do not appear in earlier versions of the scene in Italy or in Northern Europe; but they do occur in Byzantine Mockings, specifically in the late twelfth, thirteenth, and early fourteenth centuries (figs. 61, 63, 64, 65).⁵³ Also, unlike the painter of Cross No. 434, Coppo endows

his composition with an architectural setting by flanking it with two gabled towers. Similar structures, which probably allude to the palace where the Mocking occurred, occasionally appear in Byzantine Mockings, such as that in an icon on Mount Sinai;⁵⁴ a more elaborate version of the same motif is found at Prilep (fig. 63). Further, Coppo adds a second trumpeter who blows his horn directly into Christ's ear--an additional touch of sadism which, like the towers, recurs at Prilep. Thus, whereas the painter of Cross No. 434 seems to have depended on a model most comparable to the later composition at Staro Nagoričina, these last two details--the paired towers and the placement of the trumpeter--indicate that Coppo's source was a fairly close antecedent of the Prilep fresco. A reasonable approximation of this hypothetical source is in fact provided by a later Italian work: a Mocking attributed to an early fourteenth-century Venetian painter (Moscow, Museum of Fine Arts; fig. 71)⁵⁵ which seems to be a very literal copy of a Byzantine work.⁵⁶ In the presence of two cowled priests, in the fact that the one at the left kneels before Christ, and in the position of the dark-bearded figure who raises his right hand to strike Christ, the Venetian panel strongly resembles Coppo's work.⁵⁷ And in several details, most notably the stance of the dark-bearded figure, the panel in Moscow seems closely linked with the Prilep fresco (fig. 63).⁵⁸ Some fairly close relative of the Venetian painter's source and the Prilep fresco therefore seems responsible for several details in Coppo's composition, details which did not occur in the Mocking in Cross No. 434. Thus Coppo, too, reveals a thorough knowledge of Byzantine models, models slightly different from those which served the earlier Florentine painter.⁵⁹ The fact that both Italian works find

their closest affinities with the extant Byzantine Mockings of the late twelfth, thirteenth, and early fourteenth centuries indicates that the sources of both painters were probably near-contemporary Byzantine works.

The Santa Marta Cross

The last Dugento cross which represents the Mocking is the archaizing Pisan cross in Santa Marta (fig. 51); though this painter relies principally on Coppo's formulation of the scene, he too reveals a knowledge, direct or indirect, of new Byzantine sources. Among the points in which he diverges from Coppo's image are several which reflect his dependence on a model most closely related to the fresco at Čučer (fig. 64). First, the Pisan painter, characteristically, has pared the crowd to a handful of figures; only five thugs now assail Christ. A similarly stringent reduction of the mob occurs at Čučer--a surprising development in view of the teeming compositions of most contemporary Serbian frescoes. The exact placement of the few remaining figures also seems comparable in the two works, particularly the stance of the two thugs at the far left and right of each composition; note especially the upraised arm of the one on the left in each scene. But if neither painter shows a strong interest in the mob surrounding Christ, both reveal a compensating concern with new architectural motifs: each places a high corniced wall, that at Čučer only slightly taller than that in the painted cross, behind the figures.⁶⁰ Thus, as aspects of the Mocking in Cross No. 434 seemed closest to the one at Staro Nagoričina and as aspects of Coppo's seemed closest to Prilep,

the Pisan version of the scene seems to depend on a third Byzantine model most comparable to the fresco at Čučer.

Conclusions

The analysis of the Mocking of Christ has, then, yielded several results, only some of which reinforce our earlier findings. As with the Betrayal and the Trial, the Mocking reveals the zest for experimentation that characterizes the mid-Dugento: again a long-standing iconographic type has been summarily discarded and replaced with a scheme that is almost entirely new. As with the Betrayal and the Trial, the mid-century Florentine version of the Mocking reflects an awareness of nearly contemporaneous Byzantine sources; again it is probable that not a single Eastern model but several were circulating. Even the Santa Marta Master seems to have drawn from a distinct Byzantine type.

But despite these points of conformity with the patterns perceived in the evolution of the Betrayal and the Trial, one major change distinguishes the development of the Mocking from the earlier scenes: an incontestable debt to Northern European models. In fact the North, not the East, served as the primary stimulus behind the transformation of the Mocking at mid-century; Byzantine sources, though used, provided only certain details. This appropriation of a Northern, probably French, iconographic type proves that Duccio was not the first Dugento painter to rely on French Gothic themes and motifs, as is generally thought; he was preceded in his appreciation of French compositions by the anonymous painter of Cross No. 434.

Perhaps still more significant than this use of Northern models is the degree of sophistication revealed in the process by which Dugento painters created their new image. The fact that this new image stems not from a single model but from at least two strikingly different sources shows that these Tuscan artists were far more than passive receivers of outside influence who mechanically transcribed the creation of another culture. Rather, they actively sought and selected new concepts and motifs, and fused them into a compelling new image--original not in its individual components, but in the union of these components. Perhaps it does not overstate the accomplishment of these painters to suggest that their inventiveness reflects a typically Tuscan creativity that reaches the first great flowering in the art of Giotto. At any rate it is significant that the selective fusion of diverse sources that characterizes the Mocking is not an aberration; much the same process of creative assimilation lies behind the iconography of the Way to Cavalry, as will be shown in the following chapter.

But if the complex parentage of the new image comes as a surprise, the end result does not: again mid-Dugento painters have rejected an image which minimized Christ's human sufferings during the Passion and replaced it with one which accentuates His plight. Exactly this phenomenon occurred in the iconography of the Betrayal, where the divine miracle-worker of pre-Dugento crosses gives way to the passive, overpowered figure seen later, and to an extent in the Trial, where the ambivalence of Pilate is replaced by the overt hostility of Annas and Caiaphas. In the Mocking, the difference is still more sharply drawn: the unflinching stoic of Pisa No. 15 seems

only distantly related to the battered, blindfolded, physically exhausted victim of Uffizi No. 434.

As in the first two Passion scenes, this dramatic iconographic change probably reflects attitudes popularized by St. Francis and his followers. In fact the extreme pathos of the new type specifically recalls St. Francis' own interpretation of Christ's Mocking. Thus the readings for Terce in his Office of the Passion state:

All who see me scoff at me; they mock me with parted lips, they wag their heads (21:8).
 But I am a worm, not a man; the scorn of men, despised by the people (21:7).
 For all my foes I am the object of reproach, a laughingstock to my neighbors, and a dread to my friends (30:12).⁶¹

And the meditation for Sext continues:

For your sake I bear insult, and shame covers my face. . .
 (68:8-10).⁶²

In the context of these passages, the discarding of the earlier image and its replacement by the later type seems eminently understandable: Francis' conception of Christ as "the scorn of men," "despised" and "shame[d]" is clearly far better expressed by the visibly suffering figure in Uffizi No. 434 than by the imperturbable Savior of Pisa No. 15.

Later writers influenced by St. Francis develop the theme of Christ's abasement during the Mocking still further. Pseudo-Bede's account of the event especially suggests the new iconography, for he tells us specifically that Christ was seated just before the ordeal:

Then you will meditate, and see, in spirit, how your Lord sat among His enemies, abandoned by His disciples and friends. Thus I think that you will say, "O Lord Jesus, how do you sit thus, so greatly despised and so greatly dishonored?"⁶³

Though one cannot claim this tract as the sole literary source of the

new image,⁶⁴ Pseudo-Bede's description seems, at least, its textual analogue. Other Franciscan accounts of the Passion, though they do not record Christ's pose during the Mocking, similarly dwell on the theme, and leave no doubt as to His abject state; to cite but one example, Pseudo-Bonaventura's Meditations records no fewer than six separate episodes in which Christ's captors derided Him.⁶⁵ This almost obsessive interest in the humiliations borne by Christ probably characterizes Franciscan authors not only because of their general interest in Christ's suffering, but for a second reason as well. St. Francis repeatedly emphasized the virtue of humility, and he, like Christ, was "reviled. . . miserably" by enemies throughout his life;⁶⁶ even early in the history of the Order, Minorites stressed their founder's Christ-like nature and especially emphasized the parallels between his life and the life of Christ.⁶⁷

In conclusion, then, the new image seems to have been adopted in mid-century Tuscany because it so aptly expressed the Franciscan conception of Christ's Mocking. This concern with the human reality of the Passion--this wish to evoke Christ's sufferings in newly graphic and compelling terms--is clearly the common thread that unites the three scenes considered thus far. The role of Byzantine models is minor in the case of the Mocking precisely because thirteenth-century Byzantine representations of the theme offered little new to Dugento painters: they differed only in certain details from the image which prevailed in Italy throughout the twelfth century. It was Northern iconography which best conveyed the new expressive values sought in mid-century Italy, and it was thus the Northern image of the Mocking that supplanted the earlier type. The "overpowering waves of

Byzantine influence"⁶⁸ seem in this case to have been closer to a fine spray that touched Tuscan painters but hardly submerged them.

NOTES

¹Minor variations occur in the accounts of the evangelists. First, according to Luke, this episode takes place before rather than after Christ's appearance before the high priest. Second, Matthew does not mention the blindfold alluded to by Mark ("they covered His eyes") and specifically noted by Luke. Otherwise the descriptions of the synoptics are identical. John omits this incident altogether.

²Only Matthew mentions the reed which served as Christ's scepter; aside from this detail, his text and Mark's are identical. John abbreviates this episode by leaving out some of the soldiers' actions. Luke does not discuss the episode at all, but does observe that Christ was mocked by Herod's troops (Luke 23:11).

³Croce dipinta, p. 245. It is interesting to note that this confusion between the two episodes also occurs in written accounts, such as the Benediktbeuren Passion Play of c. 1200: "Then they dress Christ in a purple vestment and crown of thorns. Then the Jews say, 'Hail, king.' Then, 'Prophecy, who is it who hit you?'" (quoted by Karl Young, Drama of the Medieval Church [Oxford, 1933], I, 528).

In addition to Sandberg-Vavalà's discussion of the Mocking (pp. 242-250, "Il processo di Cristo," *passim*), other accounts of the scene can be found in general iconographic sources. See Jameson, II, 53-58, 84-90; Künstle, I, 435-40; Millet, p. 606, 640; Réau, II, pt. 2, 446-48, 457-59; Schiller, II, 58, 69-73; Katja Laska, "Verspottung Jesu," Lexikon der Christlichen Ikonographie (1972), Réau, II, pt. 2, 446-48; Elisabetta Lucchesi-Palli and Reiner Haussher, "Dornenkrönung," Lexikon der Christlichen Ikonographie (1968), Réau, II, pt. 2, 446-48. But, as Pächt has observed, "in the literature no more than perfunctory references can for the most part be found to the iconography of this subject" (p. 61, n. 4).

⁴Both examples date from the last decades of the Dugento: a panel on the right wing of a triptych in the collection of the Earl of Crawford and Balcarres, London (see Gertrude Coor, "An Early Italian Tabernacle," Gazette des Beaux-Arts, 25 [1944], 129-52, fig. 18; Garrison, Index, No. 351), and a fragment from a tabernacle in the collection of Henry Harris, London (Garrison, Index, No. 673). For the possible derivation of both works from a lost version of the scene by Cimabue, see below, note 20.

⁵Scholarly opinion is unusually unanimous concerning the attribution of this cross, formerly in the Church of San Sepolcro, Pisa; it is universally ascribed to a Pisan painter. See Sirén, pp. 181-83 Sandberg-Vavalà, Croce dipinta, pp. 593-97; Offner, p. 75; Wart Arslan,

"Su alcuni croci pisane," Rivista d'Arte, 18 (1936), 217-44; Lasareff, "New Light," p. 67; Mostra Giottesca, pp. 39-41; Longhi, p. 32; Garrison, Index, No. 520; Garrison, "Pictorial Histories IV. The Florentine Master of the Morgan Sacramentary' and a Group of Related Works," Studies, I, 158, 193-201; Ragghianti, p. 1; Marcucci, p. 12; Carli, Pittura medievale, pp. 26-27; DeWald, Italian Painting, p. 36; Bologna, p. 54; Carli, Italian Primitives, p. 19; Campini, pp. 46-47; Oertel, pp. 36-37; Hartt, pp. 27-28. The dating of the cross ranges from c. 1150 (Arslan, p. 239-40) to c. 1220 (Sandberg-Vavalà, p. 597; Lasareff, p. 67), but most scholars place it, most reasonably, in the late twelfth century.

⁶ Sandberg-Vavalà, Croce dipinta, pp. 632-35; Garrison, Index, No. 527, Sandberg-Vavalà, Sieneese Studies (Florence, 1953), p. 6; Piero Torriti, La Pinacoteca Nazionale di Siena: i dipinti dal XII al XV secolo (Genoa, 1977), p. 18. All three scholars give the cross to a Sieneese artist; Garrison ascribes it to the same hand as a fragmentary dossal in Santa Maria, Tressa, thus the "Tressa Master." Sandberg-Vavalà dates the cross 1220-40, Garrison 1225-50; Torriti merely places it in the early thirteenth century. A date much after 1225 or 1230 seems to me unlikely; the specific type of perizoma worn by Christ occurs primarily in the later twelfth century, as in Uffizi No. 432, and all but disappears by c. 1225/30, as Sandberg-Vavalà herself acknowledges (Sieneese Studies, p. 6, n. 2).

Because of the state of the cross, its panel of the Mocking is not reproduced here; the best photograph has been published by Torriti, p. 18.

⁷ The Mocking does not occur on Salerno's Pistoia Cross; its omission marks the first point of divergence in the programs of the Pistoia and San Gimignano Crosses. The last three episodes in Coppo's work are the Mocking, the Mounting of the Cross, and the Entombment; in Salerno's, the Deposition, the Entombment, and the Three Marys at the Tomb. That Salerno replaces one of Coppo's Passion scenes with a post-Resurrection scene, the Three Marys, seems consistent with his general tendency to avoid overt expressions of emotion.

The program of the Santa Marta Cross corresponds strictly to neither Coppo's nor Salerno's work, but seems to reflect both: the first four panels repeat the episodes represented in the San Gimignano Cross (although the Pisan painter reverses the order of the episodes on the second register), while the last two depict the Deposition and the Three Marys, as in the Pistoia Cross. This fusion of the two programs suggests the possibility that the Santa Marta Master drew from another work, now lost, from the workshop of Coppo and Salerno. Such a cross was, in fact, commissioned from the two painters for the chapel of St. Michael in the Cathedral of San Zeno, Pistoia; the document has been published by Coor, "Visual Basis," p. 238. It is Coor's view, however, that this cross was never executed (*ibid.*, p. 247).

⁸The iconography of the Mocking in Byzantine art will be discussed more fully below, pp. 98-99.

⁹Of the several variants of the Mocking known in twelfth-century Italy, this type is the most common. For other examples see Sandberg-Vavalà's chart, Croce dipinta, pp. 428-29.

¹⁰For examples, see Schiller, II, figs. 238, 239, 240, 241, 242. The motif also occurs, though rarely, in Byzantine art (as in the Gelat Gospel Book, my fig. 15; see note 24 below), and is ultimately derived from Early Christian works (Schiller, II, fig. 1). In each case, a single soldier crowns Christ.

¹¹The Golden Gospels of Henry III, Escorial, Cod. Vetrinas 17, fol. 83, 1043-64; Schiller, II, fig. 239. This variant occurs in no Byzantine work known to me.

¹²Zillis, in the Grisons, was a German territory in the twelfth century; see Ernst Murbach, The Painted Romanesque Ceiling of St. Martin in Zillis (New York, 1967), p. 5. Murbach, p. 34, suggests a date in the 1160's. The Missal of Odalricus (Fulda, Landesbibliothek, Cod. A. a. 35, fol. 81v.; photograph available in the Princeton Index) was executed in the scriptorium of Weingarten under the rule of Abbot Cuno, 1109-32; see Hanns Swarzenski, The Berthold Missal (New York, 1943), p. 7. The crowning of Christ by two of Pilate's soldiers persists into the thirteenth century in German manuscripts, such as a leaf from a Franconian miniature, Schiller, II, fig. 244.

¹³Aachen, Cathedral Treasury. Peter Lasko, Ars Sacra 800-1200 (Harmondsworth and Baltimore, 1972), pp. 130-31, dates the antependium about 1020. A closely related example occurs in a slightly later Gospel book from St. Peter, Salzburg, now in the Pierpont Morgan Library (Schiller, II, fig. 241). The two share a number of details which would indicate, at the least, derivation from a common source. See Hermann Schnitzler, "Fulda oder Reichenau?" Wallraf-Richartz-Jahrbuch, 19 (1957), 39-132. For further consideration of these two works, see below, pp. 99-100. From Ottonian sources the motif passed to English manuscripts such as the St. Albans Psalter (Pächt, pl. 27b). Pächt, p. 62, suggests that the St. Albans Mocking presupposes first-hand knowledge of Byzantine art rather than an Ottonian interpretation of an Eastern model, but this motif occurs in no extant Byzantine version of the scene known to me; it appears to have been the invention of Ottonian artists.

¹⁴The single kneeler appears, for instance, in the Aachen antependium (fig. 55), where Christ also holds His "scepter" to the left. The staffs held by the mob recur in the Golden Gospels of Henry III (Schiller, II, fig. 239); the hats worn by the mockers in a number of manuscripts, such as an early thirteenth century psalter in

Donaueschingen (see Otto Homburger, "Über zwei deutsche Bilderhandschriften des 13. Jahrhunderts," Festschrift für Erich Meyer zum sechzigsten Geburtstag [Hamburg, 1959], pp. 75-84, fig. 10) and two mid-thirteenth century examples, the Franconian miniature cited in note 12 and a psalter from the Upper Rhine now in Besançon (Schiller, II, fig. 245); the embroidered tunics of the mob at Zillis, and the plaited appearance of the crown of thorns in a late twelfth-century Rhenish manuscript, the Prayer Book of Hildegard of Bingen (Schiller, II, fig. 243).

¹⁵ Stylistic connections between Pisa No. 15 and German manuscripts were proposed some forty years ago by Arslan, pp. 215-30. Arslan, however, compared the cross only with a late eleventh-century work, a lectionary from St. Peter, Salzburg by the Barthold Master, and his thesis has met with little approval. But in view of the great number of iconographic details that the Pisan artist seems to have derived from German sources, it seems to me that Arslan's thesis deserves re-examination. Further stylistic corroboration for his thesis can be obtained by comparing the facial types in Pisa No. 15 with those in the Prayer Book of Hildegard of Bingen (Schiller, II, fig. 243): the strongly rectangular structure of the face, the shape of the eyes, the emphatic nose which descends from the eyebrow in an unbroken line, and the tiny, squarish chin are virtually identical. In light of the strong iconographic and stylistic links between Pisa No. 15 and contemporary transalpine works, one should recall that a number of Germans had settled in Pisa by the late twelfth century; see David Herlihy, Pisa in the Early Renaissance (New Haven, 1958), p. 32. The specific possibility of German artists at work in Pisa has been raised by Knut Berg in connection with a Pisan evangelary of the 1160's (Studies in Twelfth Century Tuscan Illumination [Oslo, 1968],

¹⁶ The Buffeting appears in fol. 160r. of the Florence Gospel Book (fig. 57) where it follows the Judgement of Caiaphas. Fol. 58r. (fig. 56), almost its iconographic twin, represents the second Mocking, for it follows the Judgement of Pilate. In Paris 74, both Mockings are also represented: the first in fols. 55v. and 159r. (Omont, Evangiles, I, pl. 46, II, pl. 137), the second in fols. 58r. and 98v. (Omont, Evangiles, I, pls. 49 and 86). As in the Florence Gospel Book, no attempt has been made to distinguish the two episodes iconographically: the four images are virtually identical. In each case, however, Christ is not shown walking from left to right but standing, frontal, in the center of the composition, and in each case, one or more of His adversaries bow before Him in mock proskynesis. Thus, even the two pages that ostensibly depict the Buffeting in fact derive their imagery from the second Mocking, in which the soldiers bowed before Christ. Even in Middle Byzantine iconography, then, the two episodes are already "inestricabilmente confusi." The blurring of the distinctions between the two in later Western iconography now becomes more readily understandable. For a discussion of the differences between Laur. VI. 23 and Paris 74, see below, notes 22 and 23.

¹⁷ For a discussion of this dancing figure, see below, p. 105.

¹⁸London, British Museum, Add. 49999; see Peter Brieger, English Art 1216-1307 (Oxford, 1957), pp. 85-89. The use of the blindfold, though specified by the text, first appears in English depictions of the Mocking; see below, note 34. For the numerous contacts between England and Italy in the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries, see R. L. Reynolds, "Some English Settlers in Genoa in the late Twelfth Century," Economic History Review (1933), 317-23. Reynolds focuses his study on Genoa, but adds that English colonies existed in other Italian cities, especially ports (p. 321).

¹⁹The single example known to me is fol. 33r. of the "Second Hamilton Psalter" (Garrison, "Checklist," p. 375. The psalter is unpublished; photographs available in the Princeton Index). A work which appears comparable is the fragment of a fresco in Rome, San Sebastiano al Palatino, published by Josef Wilpert, Die romischen Mosaiken und Malereien (Freiburg, 1916), II, fig. 401. But as Wilpert notes, the fragment does not represent the Mocking but the Trial before Caiaphas; the figure of the high priest has been destroyed, and only Christ and the mob remain.

²⁰The Mocking is found twice among the works of Cimabue's followers: in the panels in the Harris Collection and the Crawford Collection, cited in note 4. The innovative composition of the Crawford panel fuses the Mocking with the Trial before the Priests, who are seated to the right. A similar concept appears in Giotto's fresco in the Arena Chapel (Schiller, II, fig. 193), where Pilate is shown, on the right, conferring with Annas and Caiaphas. It seems to me unlikely, first, that this innovative composition originated with the unexceptional painter of the Crawford triptych, and, second, that Giotto would have borrowed from such a painter; more probably the two share a common source in Cimabue. A second feature of Giotto's Arena fresco tends to corroborate this hypothesis--the elaborately bejeweled brocade robe worn by Christ. A similar robe appears in the Harris panel, which, like the Crawford panel, probably reflects a Cimabuesque prototype. The same robe is seen in Duccio's panel from the Maestà (Schiller, II, fig. 20-d) where, further, Pilate stands to the right. Duccio's connections with Cimabue are well known; for a recent suggestion that the two worked together, see James Stubblebine, "Cimabue and Duccio in Santa Maria Novella," Pantheon, 31 (1973), 15-21.

²¹Besides the works of Giotto and Duccio cited above (note 20), Trecento examples include Barna da Siena's fresco in San Gimignano (Schiller, II, fig. 249); in the Quattrocento, see Fra Angelico's fresco in San Marco (Schiller, II, fig. 250); in the Cinquecento, Bernardino Luini's panel in Milan, San Giorgio al Palazzo (Angela Ottino della Chiesa, Bernardino Luini [Novara, 1956], pl. 33).

²²See Pächt, p. 62, for a similar comparison of the two manuscripts. Pächt suggests that a work like Paris 74 directly inspired the Mocking in the St. Albans Psalter, c. 1120. But the Albani Master was hardly the first Western artist to adopt the new image; it occurs,

for instance, in Bohemia in the 1080's (Schiller, II, fig. 237). See note 13 above.

²³Weitzmann, "Narrative and Liturgical," pp. 247-70, and "Byzantine Miniature and Icon Painting," pp. 289-113; followed by Tsuji in his dissertation, which focused on the Ministry cycles of both manuscripts. Thus, though neither Weitzmann nor Tsuji applied Weitzmann's thesis to Passion iconography, it neatly explains the iconographic changes that occurred both in the Betrayal (see Chapter I, note 52) and in the Mocking during the Middle Byzantine period.

²⁴For Vat. gr. 1927, see DeWald's monograph, Septuagint, III, pt. 1. For the late twelfth-century Gelat Gospel Book (Tbilisi, Institute of Manuscripts), see Lasareff, Storia della pittura bizantina (Turin, 1967), p. 123, with bibliography.

²⁵The Prilep cycle was executed in 1299, that at Čučer in 1307, and that at Staro Nagoričina in 1317; see Millet-Frolow, III, xv-xvi. No Byzantine Mocking has survived from the first three quarters of the thirteenth century; the loss is particularly unfortunate in view of the importance of this period for the development of the scene in Italy. But the sole late twelfth-century example, the Gelat Gospel Book (fig. 62) and the sole thirteenth-century example, the fresco at Prilep (fig. 63), demonstrate that the iconography of the theme experienced no fundamental changes during the hundred-year span that separates them.

²⁶Christ is depicted as seated in a manuscript from Armenian Cilicia of 1262 (Baltimore, Walters Gallery, Ms. 539, fol. 195r.; Sirarpie Der Nersessian, Armenian Manuscripts [Baltimore, 1973], pl. 67) and blindfolded in a Gospel book of the same region and approximate date (Washington, D.C., Freer Gallery, Ms. 32, 18, fol. 516; unpublished; photograph available in the Princeton Index). But Cilicia during the thirteenth century was in constant contact with the West, specifically with Franks from the Crusader States just to the south. Political alliances between the two were established as early as 1200, and cemented by intermarriages between leading Cilician and Frankish families; further, considerable numbers of Western Europeans settled in the Armenian province. On the relationship between Cilicia and the Franks, see Steven Runciman, A History of the Crusades (Cambridge, 1954), III, passim. The steady influx of Frankish customs and ideas resulted in the adoption of a number of Western iconographic motifs in Cilician manuscripts, as Der Nersessian has pointed out (Armenian Manuscripts in the Freer Gallery of Art [Baltimore, 1963], p. 49). The seated Christ of Walters 539 and the blindfolded Christ of Freer 32, 18 are but two further examples of Cilician artists' enthusiasm for Western models, as the documentation of the purely Western parentage of the two motifs will make clear.

²⁷ A few examples linger in France, such as the Psalter of Isabelle (Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, fol. 191v.; Sidney Carlyle Cockerell, The Psalter of Isabelle of France [London, 1905], pl. IX).

²⁸ Schiller, II, 71. Pickering, p. 111, notes that Jeremiah prophesied that Christ sat alone (Lamentations, 3:28)--a passage adopted by the liturgy of Holy Week and linked with the Mocking of Christ. Pickering also mentions (p. 113) that seated figures were traditionally associated with a state of humiliation.

²⁹ Fig. 66: Job mocked by his friends, Catena in Job, Rome, Vatican Museum, gr. 749, fol. 179v. The manuscript is written in Greek but was probably illustrated, in the ninth century, by Romans; see Weitzmann, Die byzantinische Buchmalerei des X. und XI. Jahrhunderts (Berlin, 1935), pp. 77-80, and Garrison, "Contributions to the History of Twelfth-Century Umbro-Roman Painting VIII. Supplement, IV. Precursors of the Revival," Studies, IV, 179-98.

Fig. 67: Job mocked by his wife, Moralia in Job, Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, Ms. bibl. 41, fol. 29. The Bamberg Moralia is dated 1090-1100 by Garrison, *ibid.*, p. 182. The copyist, whose debt to Ottonian sources Garrison points out (*ibid.*, p. 183), has omitted the dung heap, so that Job hovers in defiance of gravity; otherwise the visual link between this scene and that in Vat. gr. 749, and the link of both works with the Aachen Mocking, is fairly clear.

Fig. 68: Job mocked by his friends, Pantheon Bible, Rome, Vatican Museum, lat. 12958, fol. 257. Garrison assigns this manuscript to a Roman scriptorium and dates it between 1125 and 1140 ("Contributions to the History of Twelfth-Century Umbro-Roman Painting VIII. The Italian Byzantine-Romanesque Fusion in the Second Quarter of the Twelfth Century," Studies, IV, 118); he suggests a "special connection" between the Bible and Vat. gr. 749 (*ibid.*, p. 130). This illumination especially suggests a link between the iconography of Job and Christ: here the friends are symmetrically placed, as in the Mocking of Christ, and in the upper half of the picture Job sits on a backless throne, wears a mantle fastened at the shoulder and holds a staff--all motifs which recur in the Mocking of Christ.

In connection with the new type, it should be noted that one text does specify that Christ was seated for part of His ordeal: according to the apocryphal Gospel of Peter, "they put on Him a purple robe and made Him sit on the seat of judgement" (James, p. 91). This text would not, however, explain the rubble heap on which the Aachen Christ sits. Most of the later medieval texts known to me do not describe Christ as seated (Bernard of Clairvaux, P.L., CLXXXIV, 746; Peter Comestor, P.L., CXCVIII, 1628-29; Pseudo-Anselm, P.L., CLIV, 279-80; Pseudo-Bonaventura, Ragusa and Green, p. 329); see, however, the discussion of Pseudo-Bede, pp. 111-12.

³⁰ On the association between the imagery of Job and Passion iconography see G. van der Osten, "Job and Christ," Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes, 16 (1953), 153-58; he cites many patristic sources to establish the textual tradition for the parallel. Réau (II, pt. 2, 315) and Schiller (II, 68) specifically relate the Mocking of Job to the Mocking of Christ. Visual corroboration for the thesis occurs in an early thirteenth-century Moralized Bible in Oxford, Bodleian Library, 270b., fol. 208r. (Alexandre de Laborde, La Bible moralisée, II [Paris, 1912], pl. 208), in which the medallion depicting the Mocking of Christ is placed between two scenes of Job on the dunghill, and in a fourteenth-century altarpiece published by Schiller (II, fig. 251), which similarly juxtaposes the two scenes.

But it seems to me that the visual fusion of the Old Testament and New Testament Mockings occurred earlier still--specifically, at the time of Henry II (1002-24), the donor of the Aachen antependium; that the literary source was Gregory's Moralia; and that the catalyst for superimposing the iconography of Job on the iconography of Christ was the religious crisis--or crises--which beset the Church in the early eleventh century. According to Gregory, the torments of Job should be understood as foreshadowing both the Passion of Christ (P.L., LXXX, 525, 575) and the attacks on Christ and the Church by enemies: Job's wife prefigures the carnal and the lascivious, especially those within the church (P.L., LXXX, 525, 604-6), while his friends prefigure heretics (P.L., LXXX, 525). In the early eleventh century, both these enemies were very much in evidence: rampant abuses, frequently involving illicit marriages, wracked the clergy, and a strain of "Neo-Manicheanism" was spreading rapidly through north-central France and Germany (on both, see Charles Hefele and Dom Leclercq, Histoire des Conciles, IV, pt. 2 [Paris, 1911], 918-34). Fortunately for the Church, Henry II was a deeply pious man--later canonized, in fact (1146)--to whom these dangers were a grievous concern. In the years 1018-22--exactly the years in which the Aachen antependium was commissioned and executed--a number of councils were summoned to combat both the wayward clergy and the NeoManicheans, and Henry himself was present at at least one (Hefele and Leclercq, pp. 918-34). Thus, in light of these threats to the Church and Henry's involvement with the struggle against them, it is not implausible that the Mocking in the Aachen antependium was conceived as a visual expression of Henry's concern, and that the Moralia's specific association of the lascivious and the heretical with the mockers of Job explains the curious dunghill-like mound on which Christ is seated.

Finally, it should be briefly noted that the entire program of the antependium (for an illustration see Schiller, II, fig. 13) may have been intended as a refutation of the specific attacks of the heretics (enumerated by Hefele and Leclercq, p. 926): they denied the reality of the Passion, death and resurrection of Christ, all of which are represented by the antependium; they dismissed the importance of the Virgin, who here is prominently shown interceding with Christ; and they were accused of worshipping Satan, who here is shown as the serpent crushed under the heels of St. Michael.

For other considerations of eleventh-century heresies and their impact on iconography, see S. Brieger, "Bible Illustration and Gregorian Reform," Studies in Church History, 2 (1965), 154-64, and Dodwell, pp. 145-46.

³¹The seated Christ appears in English manuscripts of the mid-twelfth century such as the Bury Bible (Cambridge, Pembroke College, Ms. 120, fol. 3v.; c. 1130; see Elizabeth Parker, "A Twelfth-century Cycle of New Testament Drawings from Bury St. Edmunds Abbey," Proceedings of the Suffolk Institute of Archeology, 31 (1969), 263-302, pl. XXXVI) and the leaf from Canterbury (Victoria and Albert 661, recto, c. 1140; Kauffmann, pp. 31-32, fig. 179). The type had been transmitted to France by the early thirteenth century. Christ is frequently shown seated, for instance, in the Moralized Bibles (Oxford, Bodleian, 270b., fol. 10r., fol. 119v.--Laborde, I, pls. 10, 119; Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 11560, fol. 171v., fol. 240r.--Laborde, II, pls. 395, 428; London, British Museum, Harley 1526-27, fol. 55v., fol. 58r.--Laborde, III, pls. 526, 529).

³²The seated Christ did not necessarily come directly from a Northern model, however; one twelfth-century Italian version of the Mocking in which Christ is seated survives, a candlestick in Rome, San Paolo Fuori le Mura (Niccolò Nicolai, Della basilica di San Paolo [Rome, 1815], pl. XVIII). But the candlestick itself could not have been the source of the Mocking as it appears in Cross No. 434: there Christ is shown unblindfolded, with head held erect, generally impervious to the taunts of the soldiers.

³³On the St. Albans Psalter, see Pächt's monograph; Pächt, pp. 90-1, suggests that the motif originated with the Albani Master, who, Pächt observes, on other occasions went "ad fontes" instead of deriving his compositions solely from earlier models. Pächt may well be correct in crediting the Albani Master with the invention of the device (Schiller, II, 58 states that it existed from the eleventh century, but cites no examples of this date); he errs, however, in asserting that the blindfold does not recur until its appearance in Enrico's Mocking over a hundred years later. In fact it was taken up almost immediately in England; it occurs in the Bury Bible, c. 1130, and the leaf from Canterbury (Victoria and Albert 661), c. 1140 (on both manuscripts see note 31), as well as in London 49999, a manuscript of the 1230's or 1240's (fig. 58; see note 18), and a cope of the same date now in Anagni (Brieger, p. 210, pl. 78-a).

Until the mid-thirteenth century, the blindfold appears only very rarely outside England. The only earlier non-English example known to me is found in the Gumpert Bible (Erlangen, Bibliothek, Ms. 121, fol. 133v.; Georg Swarzenski, Die Salzburger Malerei, [Leipzig, 1908], I, pl. LXI), a work of the Salzburg school dating around 1200. The iconography of the Gumpert scene is most unusual: Christ is shown stripped to the waist and seated in profile, facing the prophet Micah. The image bears an unmistakable resemblance to the Mocking of Job as it developed in the early thirteenth century (compare, for instance,

a fresco in St. Maria in Lyskirchen, Cologne; Schiller, II, fig. 231); Van der Osten has already noted the possibility of a connection with Job, "which the artist no longer quite understood" (p. 157). At any rate, this exceptional scene is, to my knowledge, the single instance of the blindfold to appear in Germany throughout the thirteenth century.

³⁴For the miniature from Beauvais (New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, Ms. 101), see Gunther Haseloff, Die Psalterillustration im 13. Jahrhundert (Kiel, 1938), pp. 58, 116-17). The blindfold appears in two other French psalters at about the same time: a Parisian manuscript of about 1265 in the Metropolitan Museum (see Bryson Burroughs, "A Thirteenth Century Manuscript," Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, 17 [1922], 153-55) and a miniature in Liège, Bibliothèque de l'Université, Ms. 431, fol. 175v. (Haseloff, pp. 70, 122-23). But despite the transmission of the motif to France and Italy, it remains most common in England: in the second half of the thirteenth century it recurs repeatedly (Huth Psalter, London, British Museum, Add. 38116, fol. 11r.--British Museum, Catalogue of the Fifty Manuscripts and Printed Books Bequeathed by Alfred H. Huth [Oxford, 1912], pl. 2-c; Salvin Hours, British Museum, Add. 48985, fol. 35r.--Brieger, p. 221, pl. 87; British Museum, Add. 50000--Brieger, pp. 180-81; cope in St. Maximin--A. G. I. Christie, English Medieval Embroidery [Oxford, 1938], pl. XX).

³⁵Marcel Aubert, Louis Grodecki, Jean Lafond, and Jean Verrier Corpus vitrearum mediaevi, France, I: Les vitraux de Notre-Dame et de la Sainte-Chapelle de Paris (Paris, 1959), pl 52. Other examples include the Moralized Bibles in Oxford, Paris and London (see note 31); the miniature from Beauvais (fig. 69); and the Psalter of Isabelle (see note 27).

³⁶For instance, each of the four English works cited in note 34 depicts Christ with head erect. Thirteenth-century German painting similarly represents Him with head erect; the two works published by Schiller (II, figs. 244, 245; see note 14) as well as the psalter in Donaueschingen (also cited in note 14) are typical. In fact, the sole German exception known to me is found in the Gumpert Bible, the curious iconography of which has already been observed (note 33).

³⁷In most French examples (see note 35) the inclination of Christ's head is not as pronounced as it is in Cross No. 434, or the San Gimignano Cross. The anonymous author of the Meditations may have had some such image in mind when he described Christ's ordeal: "see how, with bent neck, He receives the sharpest blows..." (Ragusa and Green, p. 329). No earlier text known to me (see note 29) records this detail.

³⁸One important link was provided by the Via Francigena. This road, the main route between France and Rome, passed directly through

Tuscany; see Herlihy, p. 99. On the role of the Italian merchant in France during the thirteenth century, see John H. Mundy, Europe in the High Middle Ages: 1150-1309 (New York, 1973), pp. 153-59.

³⁹ See the Introduction, p. 4, note 11.

⁴⁰ Oertel, like Stubblebine, first mentions the use of French models in connection with Duccio (p. 47). One of the few scholars to observe the influence of Northern models in Dugento painting prior to Duccio is Hartt, who notes the "juxtaposition of northern European and Mediterranean elements. . . in Italo-Byzantine [painting]" (p. 37). A number of writers have, of course, related Dugento sculpture to French Gothic forms; see Hartt, pp. 37-40 or White, pp. 49-59.

⁴¹ In this respect the psalter from Beauvais (fig. 69) and the window in Sainte-Chapelle (fig. 70) are typical. Similarly reduced groups occur in the three other psalters already cited (in New York, note 34, Liège, note 34, and Cambridge, note 27) and in other stained-glass windows: in those at Chartres, Clermont-Ferrand and Rouen, only two thugs torment Christ (see Yves Delaporte, Les vitraux de la cathédrale de Chartres, II [Chartres, 1926], pl. CLVI; H. du Ranquet, La cathédrale de Clermont-Ferrand [Paris, 1913], plate opposite p. 196; Georges Ritter, Les vitraux de la cathédrale de Rouen [Cognac, 1926], pl. XIX). Only rarely, as in the Mockings in the Moralized Bible in London (cited in note 31), are more than four thugs represented.

⁴² Of the fifteen extant examples known to me (seven from Moralized Bibles, cited in notes 30 and 31, four from psalters, cited in notes 27 and 34, and four in stained-glass, cited in note 41), the kneeling worshipper occurs only twice (in the Moralized Bible in Paris, fol. 171v. [note 31], and the Psalter of Isabelle [note 27]), the reed-bearer only once (in the Moralized Bible in Oxford, fol. 119v. [note 31]), and the horn-player not at all.

⁴³ The kneeler is extremely common in Ottonian art (Schiller, II, figs. 236, 240, 242) and persists in the late twelfth and thirteenth centuries (Schiller, II, figs. 243, 245); in the thirteenth century the reed-bearer also appears fairly frequently (Schiller, II, fig. 245; psalter in Donaueschingen, cited in note 14). In English manuscripts both occur in the twelfth century (the St. Albans Psalter, note 13; the Bury Bible, note 31), but the reed-bearer disappears in the thirteenth century.

⁴⁴ Schiller, II, 70-71.

⁴⁵ A large crowd does surround Christ in the "Second Hamilton Psalter" (cited in note 19), but this miniature represents the Buffet-ing of Christ and thus bears no resemblance to the new image of mid-Dugento Florence. A crowd also appears in the Mocking on Pisa No. 15

(fig. 47), but the stacking of the figures is not comparable to the treatment of the mob in Cross No. 434. For other Italian versions of the Mocking, see Sandberg-Vavalà's charts, Croce dipinta, pp. 428-29. Twelfth-century depictions tend to conform to the general type established at Sant'Angelo (fig. 52), though they usually omit the crowd and the reed-bearer. Exceptions to this general type include, besides the "Second Hamilton Psalter" and the San Paolo candlestick (cited in note 32), the fresco in Sant'Urbano alla Caffarella, Rome (Ladner, "Die italienische Malerei," fig. 77; Garrison, "Pictorial Histories XII. A Gradual of S. Stefano, Bologna," Studies, IV, 107, dates the fresco cycle to the early twelfth century). The fresco is, to my knowledge, iconographically unique. It fuses the Flagellation and the Mocking by representing Christ bound to the column while He submits to the usual abuse--the "worshipper," a thug striking His face, and so on. This singular image may well have been inspired by the apocryphal Gospel of Peter: "And one of them brought a crown of thorns and set it upon the Lord's head; and others stood and did spit in His eyes, and others buffeted His cheeks; and others did prick Him with a reed, and some of them scourged Him, saying: With this honor let us honor the son of God" (James, p. 91).

⁴⁶ Examples include a Mocking on an icon at Mt. Sinai (Weitzmann, Studies, fig. 300) and the fresco at Prilep (fig. 63).

⁴⁷ Similar bearded figures occurred earlier, however, at Sant'Angelo (fig. 52).

⁴⁸ The motif, taken up by Coppo and the Santa Marta Master, recurs fairly frequently during the Trecento. As in the Dugento, it was most common in Florence; examples include two versions of the Mocking by Pacino di Bonaguida (left wing of a triptych in New York, Wildenstein Collection--Offner, A Corpus of Florentine Painting, III, pt. 6 [New York, 1956], pl. XLII-b; right wing of a polyptych in Tucson, University of Arizona--Offner, Corpus, III, pt. 6, pl. XLIII-b), a panel by the Master of San Martino alla Palma in Manchester, Barlow Collection (Offner, Corpus, III, pt. 5, pl. IV-a) and a Cioneseque tabernacle in the Vatican (left wing; Pietro d'Achiardi, I quadri primitivi della Pinacoteca Vaticana [Rome, 1929], pl. XXIX; Offner, Corpus, III, pt. 5, 49, n. 1). It appears, too, in Siena (as in a portable triptych by Luca di Tomme, Greenwich, Hyland Collection--Michael Mallory, "An Early Quattrocento Trinity," Art Bulletin, 48 [1966], 85-89, fig. 3; or a panel in the Musée de Beaux-Arts, Strassbourg--Paris, Musée de l'Orangerie, De Giotto à Bellini: les primitifs italiens dans les musées de France [Paris, 1956], pl. XV) and in Umbria (a fresco formerly in Santa Maria inter Angelos, Spoleto--Coor, "A Fresco Fragment of the Nativity and some Related Representations," Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 51 [1953], 11-15, fig. 6; the central panel of a triptych in Trevi, Pinacoteca, attributed to a follower of Cola di Petruccioli--Umberto Gnoli, "La Scuola pittorica orvietana del '300," Bollettino d'Arte, 3 [1923-24], 305-35, fig. 15) and persists into the Quattrocento (a panel by the school of Fra

Angelico in the Accademia, published by Jameson, p. 56). In each case the horn-blower is the only musician present.

Coor has commented that the horn-blower is "rarely used in Italy after 1300" ("Fresco Fragment," p. 15); the examples cited above suggest that this statement is somewhat misleading.

49 A number of passages could be cited to substantiate this point; particularly apt is Psalm 150:3-5: "Praise Him with the sound of the trumpet . . . Praise Him with the timbrel and dance; praise Him with stringed instruments and flutes. Praise Him upon the loud cymbals. . . ." A timbrel is a drum or tambourine; see Curt Sacks, The History of Musical Instruments (New York, 1940), p. 289.

50 These dancing children do not appear only with the musicians; they occur in several earlier works as well, before the introduction of the musical ensemble. At times the dancers are clearly meant to be children; at times they appear as adolescents or young men. Examples can be found in the Florence Gospel Book (figs. 56 and 57) and the icon cited in note 47. Both Millet, p. 640, and DeWald, Septuagint, p. 14, comment on their presence, but neither attempts to explain it.

51 See, for instance, Pseudo-Origen's commentary on Job, with a lengthy comparison between the suffering of Job and the Passion of Christ (Migne, P.G., XVII, 374-75), or Didymus of Alexandria (P.G., XXXIX, 1122). An apocryphal text, the Testamentum in Job, specifically associates Job with music; see Kathi Meyer, "St. Job as a Patron of Music," Art Bulletin, 36 (1954), 21-31; Pickering, pp. 344-45. Meyer cites a Byzantine Catena in Job, Vat. gr. 1231, fol. 285v., of the thirteenth or fourteenth century (p. 22, n. 19), in which Job is beset by children dancing and playing musical instruments.

Musicians appear in the Mocking of both Job and Christ in Northern Europe as well, but not, apparently, until the fifteenth century. For examples in the Mocking of Job, see Meyer, figs. 8, 10, 15; in the Mocking of Christ, Schiller, II, figs. 195, 253. See also the works cited by Réau (II, pt. 2, 312, n. 1; 318).

52 The absence of the motif in a late twelfth-century Byzantine Mocking such as that in the Gelat Gospel Book (fig. 62) may indicate that it was an invention of the thirteenth century, but it is difficult to be certain. One example of the motif's "embryonic phase," however, survives at Studenica, in a fresco of the sixteenth or seventeenth century (Hamman-MacLean and Hallensleben, pp. 20-21; pl. 76); there, as in Cross No. 434, a single trumpeter plays. The fact that the motif is fully developed only in the East--I know no Western example which includes more than two musicians--suggests a Byzantine origin for the concept rather than the assimilation of Western influence in the Serbian frescoes.

⁵³ Priests appear as early as the eleventh-century Gospel book, Paris 74 (figs. 59 and 60), but there, as in the Sant'Angelo fresco (fig. 52), they are uncowed.

⁵⁴ Weitzmann, Studies, fig. 302.

⁵⁵ Garrison, Index, No. 628; this attribution seems more plausible than that proposed by Vera Andreyev, who ascribed it to Giunta Pisano ("Two Italian Primitives in Moscow," Burlington Magazine, 49 [1926], 173-77).

⁵⁶ One measure of this painter's fidelity to his model is the revival here of the frontal standing Christ--a type apparently last used by the Tressa Master almost a century earlier. A similarly literal Italian translation of a Byzantine Mocking occurs in a curious late fourteenth-century psalter in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Smith-Lesouëf 21, fol. 19r.; see Victor Leroquais, Supplément aux Livres d'heures, manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale (Paris, 1943), pl. IV.

⁵⁷ In Coppo's work, the dark-bearded thug strikes Christ with a reed, which is here omitted.

⁵⁸ In both, this thug places his left hand on Christ's shoulder and swings violently with his right. Other common details include the relative placement of the two kneeling figures (the head of the one on the left is slightly higher than the head of the one on the right) and the covered left hand of Christ (in contrast to Staro Nagoričina, fig. 65). It is interesting that the thug striking Christ and Christ's covered left hand, as well as the paired towers, recur in the late fourteenth-century psalter in Paris (cited in note 56).

⁵⁹ Arguably, the earlier painter could have simply chosen to omit certain details included by Coppo, such as the paired towers and the cowls of the priests. But the different placement of the trumpeters in the two works suggests that the Master of Cross 434 did not merely simplify the model used later by Coppo but worked from a different Byzantine composition.

⁶⁰ The motif of a background wall is not new to Byzantine iconography in general. The wall is common, for instance, in representations of the Crucifixion; one example is the fresco at Studenica, c. 1208 (Millet-Frolow, I, pl. 37, 3). It is possible, as Weitzmann has implied ("Thirteenth Century Crusader Icons on Mount Sinai," Art Bulletin, 45 [1963], 182), that the height of the background wall may serve as at least a rough guide to the dating of the composition.

CHAPTER IV

THE WAY TO CALVARY

When Christ's tormentors tired of disporting themselves with their prisoner, they led Him to the hill of Golgotha to proceed with the execution. The procession to Golgotha, or Calvary, is described by all four Evangelists, with one significant variation. According to the synoptics (Matthew 27:32; Mark 15:21; Luke 23:26), the mob commandeered a passer-by, Simon of Cyrene, and forced him to carry the cross on which Christ was to die; according to John's account, however, the cross was transported by Christ Himself (John 19:16-17).¹ Further information about the Way to Calvary is provided by Luke, who describes Christ's encounter with the mourning women of Jerusalem (Luke 23:27-31).

The Way to Calvary, or the Bearing of the Cross, is represented fairly frequently on painted crosses; eight of the group include it.² It appears first on the Sarzana Cross, but is omitted by Gullielmas' successors in Lucca, who severely limited the number of narrative scenes. The more loquacious Pisans, by contrast, favored the theme: five of the eight extant Pisan crosses include it.³ Of the Florentine crosses, both Uffizi No. 432 and No. 434 include the scene; Coppo, however, replaces it with an extremely rare subject, the Mounting of the Cross.⁴ Coppo's omission of the scene is surprising, for it appears to have been especially favored around the middle of the century. Each of the other five crosses executed during the 1240's, 50's and 60's represents it;⁵ further, it appears on almost all the other

panel paintings surviving from this period which include two or more Passion scenes among their iconographic programs.⁶ During the last third of the Dugento, however, the subject almost disappears, both from painted crosses and from Tuscan painting in general.⁷ But this interruption in the depiction of the subject proved only temporary: both Giotto in the Arena Chapel and Duccio in the Maestà represented it, and countless Trecento painters followed their example.⁸

The earliest representation of the Way to Calvary in Italian panel painting occurs in Gullielmus' Sarzana Cross (fig. 72). Christ stands, with hands bound, in the center of the composition; a jostling throng of bearded, cowled priests and their henchmen impatiently walk ahead. At the head of the procession a priest carries a hammer and four nails--ominous instruments of Christ's imminent execution; behind the priest Simon of Cyrene struggles with the cross itself. Leading the prisoner is another priest, who glowers at Christ and points forward to urge Him on. But Christ does not respond to the command; instead He turns to a group of five women clustered beneath the arch of the city gate. These figures, whose anguish contrasts poignantly with the hostility of the mob, represent the "daughters of Jerusalem" mentioned by Luke (23:27-28); the deep blue veil of the woman in the foreground suggests that she may be the Virgin Mary.⁹

The Way to Calvary appears next on Uffizi No. 432 (fig. 73); now, however, it has been relegated to the panel at the base of the cross, where it has suffered considerable damage. Enough remains to indicate a fairly close iconographic relationship with Guillielmus' version of the scene. Again Simon, now at the head of the procession,

carries the cross; again one of the mob turns to exhort Christ, who again faces a group of figures to the left. Though this group has been almost completely obliterated, it probably depicted the holy women of Jerusalem.¹⁰ Still decipherable are a few details which distinguish this Way to Calvary from Gullielmus': the crowd has been pared to a few figures, one of whom walks behind Christ and rests his hand on His shoulder; Christ is no longer bound but led by the hand; the city gate seems to have been omitted. But if, despite the damage, the iconographic skeleton can still be perceived, much of the genius of this powerful painter cannot; for the most part the fiery intensity of his figures, their darting eyes and expressive postures, have tragically been lost.

The final pre-Dugento cross to include the scene is a late twelfth-century Pisan work still in Pisa, in the church of San Frediano (fig. 74).¹¹ This cross is iconographically extraordinary, both in its program and in the depiction of the individual subjects. The selection of scenes is unparalleled: of the six episodes represented here, one is extremely uncommon, and three occur only here.¹² The artist has avoided the Passion scenes which commonly appear at this time--the Betrayal, the Deposition, the Entombment; he scrupulously avoids, in fact, any suggestion of Christ's suffering, and any depiction of His death.¹³ Further, the two scenes which frequently occur elsewhere hardly resemble contemporary versions. One, the Flagellation, reverts to an iconographic type which had been all but extinct for a hundred years.¹⁴ The second, the Way to Calvary, is similarly archaistic, both in the underlying conception of the scene and in specific details.

The composition does not deviate entirely from the general type used in the Sarzana Cross and Uffizi No. 432. As in the two earlier works, Simon bears the cross; one member of the mob again turns to the prisoner, who again faces a group of women. But there the resemblance ends: in most other respects, this representation differs considerably from the other two. Most surprising is Christ's demeanor. In both earlier crosses, Christ was forcibly led to Golgotha, and His encounter with the holy women consisted of little more than a poignant exchange of glances before the mob dragged Him away. Here, however, He is spared the indignity of being bound or coerced; He raises His right hand in a calm gesture of instruction, and carries the scroll, symbol of the divine Word, in His left. This transformation of the meek, passive prisoner depicted earlier into this commanding figure of authority and strength again points up the San Frediano Master's conservatism; as with the Flagellation, one suspects that this image is patterned after a much earlier model.

Other differences between this and earlier versions seem incidental rather than substantive. The procession to Calvary now moves from right to left--a reversal of the earlier scheme. The cast of characters has changed slightly: a soldier in full military garb now serves as Christ's escort, and places a hand on His shoulder; the priests who formerly directed the procession have disappeared. Finally, Simon is clothed in a most unusual way: beneath his knee-length tunic emerges a pair of trousers.

Despite the San Frediano Master's departures from the general model followed in the Sarzana Cross and Uffizi No. 432, the basic similarities of these three works becomes more apparent when one considers

the mid-Dugento version of the theme. Enrico di Tedico's Way to Calvary (fig. 75) continues several motifs from the pre-Dugento crosses: the group of mourning women, the leader of the procession who turns back to the prisoner, the tunic and mantle worn by Christ. But several changes suggest that a new type has displaced the older scheme. The major innovation is the absence of Simon: now, as described by the text of John (19:16-17), Christ Himself carries the instrument of His death. Enrico introduces a second change: Christ no longer pauses to speak to the holy women, but marches resolutely ahead. The only response to their weeping is the threatening gesture of one member of the mob--a vivid evocation of the viciousness of Christ's captors. A final modification of the earlier scheme appears in the equipment conspicuously displayed by the executioners. The leader of the mob carries a basket of nails and swings a hammer high above his head; behind him an accomplice carries the ladder which Christ will climb to His death. Though the hammer and nails had appeared in the Sarzana Cross and the basket in Uffizi No. 432, the ladder is new; most important, perhaps, is the prominence now accorded the Arma Christi, the instruments of the Crucifixion.

Closely related to Enrico's Way to Calvary, but revealing significant changes, is the Castellare Master's version of the scene (fig. 76).¹⁵ Though this painter has abridged his model, eliminating a number of the executioners as well as the Arma Christi, in several respects--the gestures of the holy women, the stance of the bully threatening them, even the manner in which Christ grips the cross--the Castellare Master virtually duplicates Enrico's composition. But two striking innovations distinguish this scene from its predecessors;

each depicts a new humiliation to which Christ was subjected. As in Enrico's example, Christ's executioners lead their prisoner by a rope --tied now, however, not around His wrists but around His neck. Furthermore, He has been stripped of His distinguished long tunic and mantle and now wears a sleeveless colobium. Despite these new assaults on His dignity, He retains His composure: though He bends slightly under the weight of the cross, He still carries His head erect.

But in the final version of the theme, that on Uffizi No. 434 (fig. 77), His strength seems almost completely dissipated. His head now droops, His shoulders sag; His step seems halting and painful. A cowed, bearded priest, accompanied by a soldier and several cronies, urges Him on with a shove on the shoulder. Three or four younger men, in short tunics, hasten ahead to prepare the site for the execution. One carries a hammer; another, who turns toward the prisoner and gestures forward, carries a basket of nails. The setting, formerly a perfunctory ground line, has become a hilly landscape: a great rock outcropping now soars behind the leaders of the procession.

Thus the iconographic development of the Way to Calvary on painted crosses corresponds exactly to the pattern which emerged in the study of the three earlier Passion scenes. Again, despite variations in secondary motifs, the extant examples conform to one of two distinct types: in this case, either Simon or Christ carries the cross. Again the twelfth-century works all adhere to one type, which is displaced, by the middle of the Dugento, by the second scheme. Not only does this general pattern recur; it will be seen that the factors underlying the pattern recur also. As with each earlier scene, the

twelfth-century image will be shown merely to continue a type with a long history in Italian painting; the thirteenth-century image, however, reflects Dugento painters' assimilation of new sources. In the case of the Betrayal and the Trial of Christ, these sources were almost exclusively Byzantine, but the new images of the Way to Calvary, like those of the Mocking of Christ, will be seen to fuse Western and Byzantine models. It is hoped that the study of this scene's development will shed some light on the creative process of mid-Dugento painters: a process not of mechanical transcription, but of conscious and selective adaptation, of the models available to them.

Pre-Dugento Examples and their Debt to Western Tradition

The General Type: Simon as Cross-bearer

The major iconographic feature common to the three twelfth-century versions of the Way to Calvary is, then, the presence of Simon of Cyrene, who carries the cross. This type is frequently described by iconographers as Byzantine,¹⁶ and this description is, in a limited sense, correct: the vast majority of Eastern representations of the scene depict Simon, not Christ, carrying the cross.¹⁷ But the type is not exclusively Byzantine: it was transmitted early in the Middle Ages to the West and, with few exceptions, Northern European examples continue to use this formulation until the end of the eleventh century.¹⁸ The dominance of the type in the West until this time--a point often overlooked in the literature¹⁹--also applies to Italy: representative works include the frescoes at SS. Martiri, Cimitile, and Sant'Angelo in Formis.²⁰ Thus the early versions of the scene on

painted crosses do conform, as one would expect, to a type with a long history in the West in general and in Italy specifically; direct reliance on Byzantine models need not be posited.

Secondary Motifs

The Sarzana Cross

The secondary iconographic elements found in pre-Dugento versions of the scene similarly indicate probable dependence on earlier Western models. Many of these motifs, like the use of Simon as cross-bearer, derive ultimately from Byzantium, but had entered the Western iconographic repertoire before their appearance on painted crosses. Other details still more strongly suggest a debt to Western prototypes, for they apparently occur only in the West.

Gulliellmus' Way to Calvary (fig. 72) is a case in point. The priest who turns to Christ to urge Him on, for instance, is clearly of Byzantine parentage; the same figure occurs in Paris 74, fol. 161r. (fig. 78), and frequently thereafter. But Gulliellmus cannot be credited with introducing the motif to the West, or even to Italy: he was preceded by the fresco painter at Sant'Urbano alla Caffarella, among others.²¹ A number of other features, however--the holy women, the city gate of Jerusalem, Christ's bound hands--do not appear in earlier extant Italian compositions; all can be traced to Middle Byzantine iconography. The holy women, whose presence is noted by Luke, appear in two Gospel books among the illustrations to the text of that evangelist (Paris 74, fol. 161r., fig 78; Laur. VI. 23, fol. 161r., fig. 79). In the Paris manuscript, Christ walks forward but turns

back to the women exactly as He does in the apron panel, and in the Florence Gospel book the women stand before a schematic building which presumably represents the city gate. Finally, Christ's wrists are generally bound in Middle Byzantine painting; Paris 74 is but one example.²²

But even if these motifs were, in fact, unprecedented in Italy, they were not unknown in Northern Europe: each had been transmitted to the West before its appearance in the Sarzana Cross. The holy women, though admittedly uncommon at this early date, occur in a late Ottonian Gospel book from the church of St. Peter, Salzburg (now in New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, Ms. 781, fol. 178v.; fig 80); there, too, Christ walks forward but glances back in response to their cries. Further, in the Gospel book Christ's wrists are bound--a motif known in the Holy Roman Empire at least from the early eleventh century²³--and the women stand next to a tower-like building which may signify the city gate. The architectural structure of the gate becomes more explicit in the early twelfth-century St. Albans Psalter, fol. 23v. (fig. 81); there, both the arched entrance and the turreted wall resemble Gullielmus' treatment of the motif.

Thus, one cannot unequivocally state that Gullielmus' Byzantinisms stem from direct exposure to Eastern sources; it is equally likely that they were derived from an Ottonian intermediary like the Salzburg Gospels.²⁴ Further, certain aspects of Gullielmus' representation could have been derived only from Western models. The hammer and nails carried by one of Christ's executioners cannot be explained by adducing a Byzantine model. These reminders of the

grisly mechanics of the Crucifixion--the Arma Christi--are virtually unknown in Byzantine art.²⁵ They do appear, however, in the West, as early as 1100: in a relief from the bronze door of the Cathedral of San Zeno, Verona (fig. 82), two of Christ's tormentors hold nails, and in a contemporary door panel from the Cathedral of Le Puy, one of the executioners brandishes a hammer.²⁶ In Italy the Arma occur only sporadically until the middle of the Dugento, and in the North the motif enjoyed widespread popularity only in France; the great majority of twelfth and thirteenth century examples are French.²⁷

What explains the introduction of these details into the iconography of the Way to Calvary? Schiller plausibly relates the use of the Arma in Passion scenes in general to the veneration of relics of the Passion, and notes that this cult grew during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries as a result of the Crusades.²⁸ It seems to me that the sudden emergence of the motif just around the year 1100 can be specifically ascribed to events during and just after the First Crusade (1095-99). A momentous discovery for the crusading Franks was the finding, in 1098, of a piece of iron identified as the Holy Lance; this relic, and similar treasures, were triumphantly brought to France by the returning warriors, where they were used to generate enthusiasm for the Crusade of 1101.²⁹ Because of this general rekindling of interest in Passion relics, and possibly because of specific associations with the Holy Lance,³⁰ a new awareness of the nails in particular emerges at the turn of the twelfth century: at just this time fervent descriptions of the nails appear in devotional texts,³¹ and at just this time the motif receives new attention in the pictorial

arts.³² Gulliellmus' inclusion of the hammer and nails in his Way to Calvary thus seems yet another indication of the fascination with the Arma Christi which swept through much of Western Europe in the early twelfth century.

The Western character of Gulliellmus' composition is underlined by another detail: the type of cross carried by Simon. This broad-beamed construction is similar in shape to a processional cross: it lacks a titulus and a suppedaneum, and flairs slightly at the ends; it is identical in every respect to the cross in the Way to Calvary from the Gospel Book of Matilda, which in turn derives from Ottonian models.³³ In Middle Byzantine depictions of the scene, however, the cross differs considerably: it is constructed of narrow, straight beams, and is invariably equipped with a titulus, and frequently with a suppedaneum.³⁴ Even the way in which Simon carries the cross conforms to Western rather than Byzantine tradition. Here, as in the Gospel Book of Matilda and several Ottonian manuscripts,³⁵ the lower half of the transverse bar, or patibulum, rests securely on the back of the cross-bearer. In Byzantine art, by contrast, the cross is represented as considerably longer, and therefore the patibulum no longer rests on the cross-bearer's back but extends above his head.³⁶ Finally, the superimposed heads of the mob most closely resemble a slightly earlier Italian version, that in the Gospel Book of Matilda; the arrangement of the mob is generally isocephalic in Byzantine art.³⁷

Thus, if much of Gulliellmus' Way to Calvary is ultimately derived from Byzantine formulations, it nevertheless seems probable that these Byzantine motifs have been filtered through an earlier

Western source. The next painted cross to include the scene Uffizi No. 432 (fig. 73) adds very little to Gulliellmus' composition;³⁸ at any rate the state of the terminal panel precludes a detailed discussion of the scene. The San Frediano Cross, however, presents us with a markedly different view of the subject.

The San Frediano Cross

Aspects of the Way to Calvary on this Pisan cross (fig. 74), like its counterpart on the Sarzana Cross, can be traced to Byzantium, but again nothing suggests direct contact with an Eastern source. Indeed, it is difficult to determine exactly what might have inspired this idiosyncratic version of the theme. Most unusual, as noted above, is the depiction of Christ: no longer bound and dragged by His captors, He carries the scroll, symbol of His divine authority, and freely addresses the holy women. This remarkably conservative conception of Christ--autonomous, unfettered, unsuffering--contrasts vividly with the progressive treatment of Gulliellmus and the Master of Uffizi 432; it unquestionably harks back to an earlier, or at least an archaistic, model.

The closest parallel occurs in the eleventh-century Gospel book in Florence, Plut. VI. 23, fol. 58r. (fig. 83). There, too, Christ's hands are free; He raises His right in a gesture of speech and holds the scroll in His left. But this iconographic type is hardly typical of Middle Byzantine painting; on the contrary, as noted above, He is far more often bound.³⁹ In fact, Plut. VI. 23 may well depend in part on an Early Christian recension, as has been suggested;⁴⁰ the only

period in which Christ regularly appears neither bound nor dragged by His captors is Early Christianity.⁴¹ It is thus possible that a descendant of such a prototype lies behind the San Frediano Master's singular representation, though he altered the model by continuing it with an image like Gulliellmus', in which Christ turned to the holy women.

The possibility of some ultimate connection with an Early Christian source gains further credence when one considers a second uncommon feature of the San Frediano panel: the caped soldier who places one hand on Christ's shoulder and gestures forward with the other. This gesturing figure is, of course, fairly standard in Italian iconography; it occurs earlier in the Sarzana Cross and elsewhere.⁴² But in none of the earlier examples does the figure wear the uniform of the miles, nor does he place an arm around Christ's shoulder to escort Him to Calvary. Both the specific military garb and the escorting gesture are, in fact, extremely uncommon in both East and West;⁴³ for the closest comparisons one must again cite monuments from Early Christianity. In a relief from the door of Santa Sabina, Rome,⁴⁴ Christ's escort uses the identical gesture to lead Him to His death, and in a North Italian ivory in the British Museum (fig. 84), both the specific gesture and the military attire--short tunic and cape--occur exactly as in the San Frediano Cross.⁴⁵ There is no reason to assume that our painter relied directly on a source like the ivory; the motif of the soldier-escort was probably preserved in one of its Italian descendants, and eventually taken up by the San Frediano Master.⁴⁶

A final curiosity of the San Frediano Calvary is the extraordinary attire of Simon. In Byzantine art he almost always wears a commoner's short tunic; exceptions occur primarily in Cappadocia where, because he is revered as a saint, he is accorded the distinguished long robes of the elite.⁴⁷ In the West both versions occur.⁴⁸ The trousers that he sports in the San Frediano panel appear, to my knowledge, in but one other instance: the early twelfth-century fresco in St. Martin, Vicq-sur-Saint-Chartrier.⁴⁹ The specific antecedents of the Vicq Calvary are elusive,⁵⁰ but it, like the San Frediano scene, presumably reflects a much earlier version: in the few contemporary Northern examples of the scene in which Simon still carries the cross he usually struggles with his burden, sometimes actually staggering under its weight,⁵¹ but here he bounds forward energetically, undaunted by its great mass. Thus the apron panel and the fresco share, besides the curious attire of Simon, a generally archaistic flavor which may suggest the dependence of both on a much older prototype. Though it is impossible to be certain, the very use of trousers may stem from a desire to identify Simon, a native of the North African city of Cyrene, as a foreigner. In the late Roman period trousers were worn in a number of the provinces of the Empire,⁵² and such literally outlandish garb thus came to be associated with the peregrini, the foreigners who settled in Rome.⁵³ Whatever the meaning of the trousers, the general connections of the San Frediano Way to Calvary with earlier models, and ultimately with types current in the Early Christian period, should be reasonably clear. As with the Sarzana Cross and Uffizi No. 432, it is unnecessary to assume direct contact with Byzantine art.

Mid-Dugento Examples

The General Type: Christ as Cross-bearer

As noted above, the three painted crosses which date from the middle of the thirteenth century depict the Way to Calvary in a radically new way: now Christ, not Simon, carries the cross to Golgotha. This sudden change reflects the painters' responsiveness to new ideas, and, as with the Mocking, the models selected for the representation of Christ were Western, while other aspects of the composition were taken from Byzantine sources.

The purely Western character of the general type, Christ Bearing the Cross, is easily documented. Though for centuries the West followed Byzantium in representing Simon as cross-bearer, at the end of the eleventh century the scene undergoes a sudden change: Simon is summarily jettisoned and Christ Himself carries the instrument of His execution.⁵⁴ The new image spread rapidly in the North,⁵⁵ and by the thirteenth century Simon has almost disappeared.⁵⁶

A number of factors have been proposed to explain this dramatic transformation of the scene; the most convincing explanation, recently resurrected by Ulbert-Schede, links the change to the launching of the Crusades.⁵⁷ Urban II, preaching the First Crusade at Clermont in 1095, exhorted the faithful to heed Christ's words: "He who does not take up the cross and follow me is not worthy of me" (Luke 9:23).⁵⁸ This passage thus became the watchword of, and the spiritual justification for, Urban's venture: the countless numbers who responded to the call fastened a cross to their right shoulder and became known as the takers of the cross, or the Crusaders.

The connection between this Biblical passage and the Way to Calvary as described by John, in which Christ Himself bore the cross, is immediately apparent; the two had been linked, in fact, since the early days of the Church.⁵⁹ It thus seems logical to conclude, with Ulbert-Schede, that the Crusading fervor which swept much of Western Europe in the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries must lie behind the new proliferation of images in which Christ Himself carries the cross.⁶⁰

Though the new image spread rapidly in Northern Europe, all but eclipsing the earlier type by the end of the century, in Italy it was slower to take hold. Despite its early appearance in Sant'Urbano, San Zeno and the Gospel Book of Matilda, the rest of Italy, particularly Tuscany, remained noticeably cool to the new concept of the scene: Gulliellmus, the Master of Cross 432 and the San Frediano Master all adhered to the traditional image of Simon carrying the cross.⁶¹ It was not, apparently, until the middle of the Dugento that Tuscan artists--Enrico, the Castellare Master and the Master of Cross 434--finally discarded Simon and adopted the new image.⁶²

Thus the iconography of a Passion scene again undergoes a dramatic transformation at mid-century; in this case, as in the case of the Mocking of Christ, the new scene follows a general type current not in Byzantium but in Northern Europe.⁶³ And in this case, as in each previous Passion scene, the new type emphasizes Christ's physical and emotional ordeal far more than did the discarded image. No longer is He allowed the relative luxury of a surrogate cross-bearer; now He Himself must struggle under its great weight.

This transformation of the Way to Calvary accords, then, with the general tendency, in mid-Dugento Passion iconography, to accentuate the pathos of Christ's great sacrifice. This concern with the human drama of the Passion has long been associated with the thought of St. Francis, and the possibility of Franciscan influence in mid-century iconography has been discussed in each Passion theme thus far examined. But in the case of the Way to Calvary, the impact of Franciscan spirituality may have been quite specific. As it was to Urban II, to Francis Christ's instruction, "Take up the cross and follow me," was of special importance: upon this exhortation Francis based the Rule of the Order.⁶⁴ As had happened at the time of the First Crusade, Christ's command was associated with the historical event in which He carried the instrument of His death. Franciscan descriptions of the Passion invariably stress that Christ Himself carried the cross;⁶⁵ depictions of Christ Bearing the Cross begin to appear on monuments commissioned by the Order, even on the Order's seal.⁶⁶ In view of the special significance of Christ Bearing the Cross to the Poverello, and of the Order's mushrooming influence in Tuscany during the mid-Dugento, it seems reasonable to ascribe the sudden proliferation of the new iconography, at least partially, to the impact of Franciscan thought. The type had been known in Italy, after all, for over a hundred years; that it finally took hold at just the time of Franciscan ascendancy seems more than fortuitous.⁶⁷

Thus the metamorphosis of the Way to Calvary cannot credibly be attributed to Byzantine models. The change probably reflects a number of interrelated phenomena--the general concern with the human reality

of the Passion, the specific relevance of the new image to Franciscan thought, and possibly the resurgence of the Crusading movement in the 1240's--which affected Tuscany at mid-century. The specific source may have been one of the uncommon Italian depictions of the type, or one of the plethora of Northern versions. Not only does the general type of the Way to Calvary change, however; a number of new motifs appear in the mid-Dugento works, and the probable sources of these details can be somewhat more precisely ascertained. Some, it will be seen, indicate a probable debt to contemporary French models, others, however, could have been derived only from Byzantium. Thus, as in the case of the Mocking, Dugento painters did not base their new images of the Way to Calvary exclusively on either Western or Eastern prototypes; rather, they combined elements from both sources in new conflations which unite the most expressive features of both traditions.

Secondary Motifs

The San Martino Cross

Enrico's Way to Calvary (fig. 75) contains several details absent from earlier Italian compositions which contribute to the emotional impact of the scene. Two very probably stem from Northern, specifically French, iconography; the third was almost certainly drawn from a Byzantine model.

The first motif to consider is the ladder ominously displayed by one of the executioners. Though the Arma Christi began to appear in Italian painting as early as the Sarzana Cross, the ladder apparently does not occur in Italy until now. Like the other instruments of the

Passion, the motif is unknown in Byzantine art, and probably reflects the Western fascination with the relics of the Passion that was fostered by the Crusades.⁶⁸ The ladder itself was taken to the West in the twelfth century,⁶⁹ and it is during the twelfth century that the motif makes its initial appearance in the Passion cycle.⁷⁰ In the Way to Calvary specifically, however, it occurs primarily in thirteenth-century French monuments;⁷¹ hence the likelihood of Enrico's debt to a French source. A second detail may also suggest Enrico's awareness of French models: the fact that Christ's wrist is bound by a rope although He carries the cross Himself. Normally Christ is subjected either to the indignity of bound wrists or to the physical burden of the cross; in Enrico's composition He is afflicted with both.⁷² The only other occurrence of this combination known to me is found in an early thirteenth-century French transcript in Paris.⁷³

But Enrico's Way to Calvary introduces one motif, of considerable importance to later Italian representations, which may have been drawn directly from a Byzantine source. This motif is the executioner who turns to the holy women and motions them away with a threatening gesture. This unsavory character, heretofore unknown in Italy, was adopted by Tuscan painters after Enrico, and persisted throughout the Trecento;⁷⁴ it reaches perhaps its most chilling interpretation in Simone Martini's panel in the Louvre, in which the mildly menacing gesture of Enrico's bully is transformed into an attitude of unbridled viciousness.⁷⁵ For all its expressive potential, however, the motif apparently does not occur in twelfth- or thirteenth-century Northern painting;⁷⁶ in fact, it surfaces in the North only in the fifteenth century, and then in response to a Simonesque model.⁷⁷

The episode was, however, known in the East: it appears, albeit rarely, in Middle Byzantine painting. One example occurs in the Florence Gospel Book, Plut. VI. 23, fol. 161r. (fig. 79): here two or three members of the mob turn to the lamenting women and motion them away. The presence of this motif is surprising in this Gospel book: it generally follows each Evangelist's text scrupulously,⁷⁸ but this incident is not mentioned in Luke's account. The source of this "sub-plot," in fact, is not canonical but apocryphal; it is derived from Recension B of the Acta Pilati: "The Jews, seeing [the Virgin] lamenting and crying, came and drove her from the road; yet she would not flee, ... saying, 'Kill me first, ye lawless Jews!'"⁷⁹ The miniature seems to follow this text in another respect as well: it depicts Christ simply marching ahead instead of turning to speak to the holy women, and Recension B similarly omits any mention of Christ's response. Thus, by the later eleventh century, this apocryphal anecdote had been interpolated into the canonical text illustrations of at least one major Gospel book; this sort of prototype must ultimately lie behind Enrico's Way to Calvary.

In fact a fairly faithful descendent of Plut. VI. 23 may well have directly influenced Enrico, for other details, generally absent from earlier Italian iconography, appear in both works. Most telling is Christ's new obliviousness to the entreaties of His mother and her companions. In each earlier Italian version in which the holy women appear, He turns to counsel them as the text of Luke relates; here, as in the Byzantine manuscript and as implied by Recension B, He simply walks ahead. Smaller points also link the two representations: the

gestures of the holy women, who in each raise their veiled hands to their faces;⁸⁰ the short tunic worn by the executioner exhorting Christ;⁸¹ the strongly isocephalic arrangement of the figures.⁸²

As in the earlier cases of the Betrayal and the Mocking, then, it is impossible to adduce a single source for Enrico's depiction of the Way to Calvary: again he seems to have drawn from at least two distinct sources, possibly from an earlier conflation of two sources.⁸³ Perhaps the apparent diversity of the models available to this eclectic painter reflects the heterogeneous flavor of Pisa at mid-century--a thriving seaport which drew its trade from points throughout Northern Europe and the East.

The Castellare Cross

The Castellare Master's Way to Calvary (fig. 76), like his Betrayal, seems clearly based on Enrico's formulation (fig. 75). In this case, however, he presents us with far more than an abbreviated version of an earlier composition, for he introduces two new motifs: the rope around Christ's neck and the sleeveless colobium that He wears instead of His usual garb of tunic and mantle. The debut of the rope around Christ's neck is of special importance for the later development of the Way to Calvary; favored especially by Sienese Trecento painters,⁸⁴ it continues well into the Cinquecento.⁸⁵ Neither the rope nor the colobium could have been taken from the North, where both were, apparently, entirely unknown; both strongly suggest contact with Byzantine art, and specifically with models from the provinces of the empire.

The rope around Christ's neck has long been recognized as a distinguishing characteristic of Cappadocian iconography.⁸⁶ It is a standard feature in Cappadocian representations of the Way to Calvary from the early tenth through the early thirteenth century, and occasionally surfaces in other regions of the empire, but does not appear, to my knowledge, in a work of indisputably Constantinopolitan origin.⁸⁷ This particularly debasing treatment of the Lord may have come to Cappadocia from Palestine: the Good Friday liturgy used in Palestine during the fourth century requires that the Patriarch, representing Christ, be led by the neck,⁸⁸ and among the relics displayed in Jerusalem was the chain used to lead Christ to Pilate which was said to have been placed around Christ's neck.⁸⁹

Despite the relative frequency of the motif in the East, it does not appear in a Western version of the Way to Calvary, to my knowledge, until the Castellare Cross. The Pisan painter may have drawn it directly from an East Christian, possibly Palestinian, source; many Pisans settled in Palestine during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and the regular contact between these Pisan colonies and their homeland could easily account for the Castellare Master's exposure to such a source.⁹⁰

But if the motif derives from an Eastern model, its adoption in Tuscany in the second half of the Dugento may also be related to the growing influence of the Franciscan Order. The Order, which viewed its founder as a second Christ, made a frequent point of drawing parallels between the lives of the two men, and the Poverello was once dragged about by a rope around his neck exactly as Christ is

represented in the Castellare Way to Calvary.⁹¹ It is thus not surprising to discover this motif in monuments of indisputably Franciscan origin.⁹²

The rope around Christ's neck is not the only indication of the Castellare Master's awareness of East Christian iconography: another is the colobium which Christ now wears instead of the usual mantle and tunic. Though I know no Byzantine example of the Way to Calvary in which Christ's garment is a sleeveless colobium,⁹³ this garment does appear in a number of Byzantine Crucifixions which are believed to stem from a Palestinian prototype.⁹⁴ It is conceivable, then, that Palestinian versions of the Way to Calvary--no certain example of which has survived--also depicted Christ in a sleeveless colobium, and that such a model explains the Castellare Master's composition.⁹⁵

Uffizi No. 434

The last representation of the Way to Calvary on a painted cross is found on Uffizi No. 434 (fig. 77). This Florentine painter, like his Pisan contemporaries, portrays Christ Himself as the cross-bearer, but his composition differs from theirs in several respects. Perhaps the most striking is Christ's posture. In sharp contrast to the erect carriage and heroic demeanor He displayed in the Pisan works--and in almost every earlier Italian version of the theme⁹⁶--here His head bows noticeably, and He seems to stagger under the weight of the cross. His newly expressed fatigue is understandable when one considers the size of the cross: the vertical beam is noticeably longer than in the Pisan panels, and now extends below Christ's waist to the level of His

knees. Almost as surprising as this emphasis on Christ's physical struggle is the absence of the Virgin: present in each earlier painted cross, and in almost every other Dugento representation of the scene,⁹⁷ she and her companions have now vanished. Other details, such as the sleeved tunic Christ wears and the hilly terrain, further distinguish this composition from its predecessors. Each feature stems ultimately from Byzantine iconography, and the changes, when considered together, strongly suggest a late twelfth- or early thirteenth-century Byzantine model.

The first point to be examined is the innovative stance of Christ. This poignant new image apparently did not enter Byzantine iconography until the late twelfth century: one of the earliest examples, from a Gospel book in Athens, National Library, Ms. 93, fol. 84r. (fig. 85), dates from that time,⁹⁸ and a number of early thirteenth-century works, like Leningrad 105, fol. 167r. (fig. 86), repeat the type.⁹⁹ In Athens 93 the vertical beam of the cross is elongated, just as in the Florentine composition, so that the lower end extends to the knees of the figures.¹⁰⁰ And in each of the Byzantine works of this period, Christ has been stripped of His distinguished mantle and now wears only a sleeved tunic.¹⁰¹ The profound pathos of this new type is clearly another instance of the late Comnenian exploration of human emotion of which Nerezi is both herald and exemplar.¹⁰²

But the new treatment of Christ does not, in itself, unequivocally indicate direct contact with a Byzantine source; virtually the same image had been transmitted to Northern Europe some decades before its use in Uffizi No. 434. France seems to have been especially

receptive to this new type: it appears in a number of early thirteenth-century monuments such as the Ingeborg Psalter, fol. 26v. (fig. 87)¹⁰³ and the study of the Mocking of Christ demonstrated that the Master of Cross 434 was familiar with roughly contemporary French models. Conceivably, then, the representation of a visibly faltering Christ was derived from a French intermediary instead of Byzantine itself.

But the case for direct contact with Byzantine art becomes more persuasive when one considers other aspects of the Florentine composition. The omission of the Virgin and holy women, for instance, was far more likely to have resulted from adherence to a Byzantine source than one from Northern Europe. Though this group appears occasionally in Middle Byzantine painting,¹⁰⁴ their presence is the exception rather than the rule, presumably because only one of the four Gospels mentions them;¹⁰⁵ they are found in no late twelfth- or early thirteenth-century version known to me. In the North, however, and especially in France, they far more commonly occur; Schiller, in fact, states that they are "nearly always" present.¹⁰⁶ The popularity of the motif--also reflected in twelfth- and thirteenth-century meditations on the Passion--probably grew out of the Western phenomenon of the cult of the Virgin.¹⁰⁷ The motif's absence from Cross No. 434 thus seems to be a sharp departure from Western literary and visual tradition, and suggests that our painter closely followed a Byzantine model.

Other details tend to confirm such a conclusion. The prominence given the landscape, for instance, cannot be ascribed to a French

prototype: no Northern Way to Calvary known to me includes more than a perfunctory indication of setting. In Byzantine painting, however, especially in the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries, exactly this sort of hilly background regularly appears: Athens 93 (fig. 85), Leningrad 105 (fig. 86) and the fresco at St. Neophytos in Cyprus¹⁰⁸ all testify to the frequency of the motif. Weitzmann has characterized this type of landscape, its soaring forms conveyed with fluid, rippling brushstrokes, as "emotionalized," and considers it an extension of the fascination with human behavior that pervades late Comnenian painting; he further notes the adoption of such landscapes in mid-Dugento painting.¹⁰⁹

Even minor points in the depiction of the mob find their closest antecedents in late twelfth- and early thirteenth-century Byzantine manuscripts. The stance of the executioner gesturing forward finds almost an exact parallel in Leningrad 105 (fig. 86). His cronies at the left, who ominously exchange knowing glances, appear in much the same fashion in Berlin 66 (fol. 253v.; fig. 88),¹¹⁰ which antedates the painted cross by only a few decades. Even such a trivial detail as the white stripes of the dark stockings worn by some of the mob is duplicated in Berlin 66.

It seems, then, that this painter had made a careful study of Byzantine models, models most closely approximated by manuscripts like Athens 93 and Berlin 66. He may have worked directly from such images; if not, he relied on an intermediary which faithfully duplicated its Byzantine source. But despite his obvious awareness of works like these, his points of digression are also worth noting:

in depicting Christ as cross-bearer and in including the Arma Christi he reveals his debt to Western ideas as well.

Conclusions

The evolution of the Way to Calvary again demonstrates the state of flux which seems to have characterized mid-Dugento Tuscany: as with each previously examined Passion scene, our painters have abandoned a long-established image and replaced it with a far more poignant depiction of the event. As in the case of the Mocking, this new image results not from a single source but from a sort of creative eclecticism in which the painter culled the most expressive features of both Eastern and Western models. And again, as with the Mocking, the mid-Dugento introduced a number of motifs--most notably the bully threatening the Virgin and the rope around Christ's neck--which played a significant role in later Italian representations of the scene.

But as we have observed before, understanding the new iconography of the mid-Dugento requires not only documenting Tuscan painters' awareness of certain models but examining the reasons why they adopted them. In each earlier scene the spreading influence of Franciscan thought was associated with the increased pathos of the new image, but in the case of the Way to Calvary, the link between the Order and the new type seems still more direct. The next chapter will present further evidence both of the mid-Dugento fusion of Eastern and Western ideas and of the intimate involvement of Franciscans in the creation and diffusion of these new iconographic types.

NOTES

¹It was the practice in the Roman Empire for the condemned man to carry his own cross to the place of execution. See Charles Rohault de Fleury, Mémoire sur les Instruments de la Passion (Paris, 1870), p. 39.

²Only the Betrayal, the Flagellation, the Deposition and the Entombment occur more frequently.

³The three which omit it are Pisa No. 15, which includes only one pre-Crucifixion scene among its apron panels, Pisa No. 20, where the Passion cycle begins with the Deposition, and the Santa Marta Cross, which reflects a Coppesque model where the scene was not represented (see note 4).

Two of the Pisan crosses which include the Way to Calvary can not be discussed in this paper. One is now in a private collection, and photographs are not available (Index, No. 517). The other is the Castelfiorentino Cross Master's eponymous work (now in Volterra, Museo dell'Opera del Duomo; Index, No. 529), where Garrison discerned fragments of the scene on the remaining section of the left apron.

⁴A similar substitution occurs in the Passion cycle at Monreale: there the Preparation for the Crucifixion (fig. 93), compositionally very close to Coppo's scene, replaces the Way to Calvary. Coppo's transformation of this Byzantine image will be discussed in the next chapter.

The substitution of the Preparation for the Crucifixion for the Way to Calvary also takes place in the fresco cycle by the St. Francis Master in San Francesco, Assisi; see Jurgen Schultze, "Zur Kunst des 'Franciskusmeisters'," Wallraf-Richartz Jahrbuch, 25 (1963), 109-150, fig. 99.

⁵These mid-Dugento crosses include Uffizi No. 434, Enrico's San Martino Cross, the Castellare Cross, the Castelfiorintino Cross, and the work now in a private collection. The first three will be discussed in this paper; the last two are cited above, in note 3.

⁶Only four such panels have survived: the Castellare Master's curiously asymmetrical painting of the Madonna and Child with Passion Scenes (Florence, Bargello; see Garrison, "Post-War Discoveries: Early Italian Paintings--I," Burlington Magazine, 89 [1947], 147-52); the Oblate Master's diptych in the Uffizi (Index, No. 243); the Magdalen Master's triptych in the Metropolitan Museum (Index No. 282); and the

Santa Maria Primerana Master's triptych in the collection of Jacob Reder, New York (Index, No. 303). All but the last--which according to Garrison could date as late as 1270--include the scene.

⁷The scene's absence from painted crosses is, of course, not surprising: only two extant historiated crosses, Salerno's Pistoia Cross and the Santa Marta Cross, date from the late Dugento, and both depend, directly or indirectly, on Coppo. But twelve other panel paintings which include at least two Passion scenes have survived (Index, Nos. 283, 325, 326, 327, 348, 351, 367, 412, 422, 673); the Way to Calvary appears only twice (Nos. 367, 673).

The Way to Calvary is also missing from the Passion scenes of five other altarpieces, but since these narrative programs, unlike those of the first group, have not survived intact, we cannot conclude that the subject was originally excluded. The most important of these is Guido da Siena's San Domenico altarpiece; according to Stubblebine's reconstruction (Guido, pp. 54-56; fig. 16), the Way to Calvary was not among the six Passion scenes represented. For the others, see Garrison's Index, Nos. 294, 441-42, 664, 669. Finally, the scene is also omitted from the mosaic program of the Baptistery of Florence, which includes five Passion scenes (DeWitt, II, pls. XL-XV), and from the frescoes in the Lower Church of San Francesco, Assisi (see note 4). Possible reasons for the popularity of the scene in the 1240's and 50's and the dearth of examples in the last third of the century will be suggested below, note 67.

⁸For a list of Trecento examples see Sandberg-Vavalà, Croce dipinta, pp. 440-45.

⁹The cross is reproduced in color in Campini, pl. 1.

¹⁰An examination of the panel reveals that one of these figures wore a deep blue mantle, suggesting, as in the Sarzana version, that she represents the Virgin. Also visible in the panel itself, though not clear in the photograph, are the basket and nails held by the executioner directly behind Christ--another motif recalling Gullielmus' composition, where the Arma Christi also appeared.

¹¹The attribution of the San Frediano Cross to Pisa is virtually unquestioned. See Sandberg-Vavalà, Croce dipinta, pp. 573-78; Arslan, pp. 240-21; Lasareff, "New Light," p. 62; Mostra Giottesca, p. 163; Index, No. 522; Marcucci, pp. 12-13; Ragghianti, p. 1; Carli, Pittura medievale, pp. 19-21; DeWald, Italian Painting, p. 33; Carli, Italian Primitives, p. 17; Bologna, p. 36; Campini, p. 47. Only Offner, "Mostra del Tesoto," p. 75, sounds a note of caution, describing the cross as "hypothetically" Pisan.

¹²The Agony in the Garden, the Resurrection, and the Appearance on the Sea of Galilee are unique to this cross; the Doubting of Thomas

occurs on only one other, Pisa No. 20. The anomalies of the program have been pointed out by Sandberg-Vavalà, Croce dipinta, p. 576. Coor has observed a further curiosity: this is the only cross which depicts the Pentecost instead of the usual Ascension on the upper terminal ("Visual Basis," p. 242, n. 65).

¹³ Even Pisa No. 15, which displays a similar aversion to representing Christ's suffering and similarly includes a large number of scenes from the Resurrection cycle, includes a prominent image of the Christus Patiens on the upper right apron panel.

¹⁴ Here Christ is shown decorously dressed in flowing robes instead of a loincloth (Sandberg-Vavalà, Croce dipinta, fig. 381). The type is fairly common in Ottonian art (compare Schiller, II, fig. 227, a late tenth-century ivory from Milan or Reichenau), but begins to wane even then: an early eleventh-century manuscript represents Him stripped to the waist (Schiller, II, fig. 228). Schiller states that "from the twelfth century onwards, Christ is clothed only in a loincloth" (II, 67).

¹⁵ The photograph reproduces the scene from the Castellare Master's Madonna and Child with Passion Scenes (cited in note 6); the composition is identical to that in the badly damaged crucifix.

¹⁶ For brief accounts of the scene, see Millet, p. 362-79; Sandberg-Vavalà, Croce dipinta, pp. 266-73; Colwell and Willoughby, pp. 344-46; Pacht, p. 92; Réau, II, pt. 2, 463-64; Belting, Cimitile, p. 58; Schiller, II, 78-82; H. Laag and G. Jaszai, "Kreuztragung Jesu," Lexikon der Christlichen Ikonographie (1970). For fuller studies, consult two recent German works: Ute Ulbert-Schede, Das Andachtsbild der kreustragenden Christus in der deutschen Kunst (Munich, 1968), pp. 5-40; and Barbara Wilk, Die Darstellung der Kreuztragung Christi und verwandter Szenen bis zum 1300 (Tübingen, 1969).

¹⁷ As Wilk has observed (p. 99), the frequency of the type in the East probably reflects the fact that three of the four Evangelists record that Simon carried the cross. Of the handful of Middle Byzantine examples in which Christ Himself carries the cross, most, like Paris 74, fol. 206v., specifically illustrate the text of St. John. A similar situation developed in the iconography of the Betrayal: there, too, the text of John differs considerably from that of the synoptics, and this dissenting account was depicted only rarely in East and West.

¹⁸ The Princeton Index lists fifteen Northern examples of the scene which date from c. 500 to c. 1095. Twelve represent Simon as cross-bearer, two represent both Simon and Christ carrying the cross, and only one represents Christ alone.

¹⁹ Sandberg-Vavalà, Croce dipinta, refers to "[il] tipo in cui Cristo stesso porta la croce, tipo preferito...nell'arte occidentale in tutte le epoche" (p. 267); Pächt states that "Christ carrying the cross Himself...is, from an early date, a characteristic of the Western tradition" (p. 92); Réau, too, associates the type with the West, without distinguishing between earlier and later medieval representations (II, pt. 2, 464). The early predominance of the first type is recognized by Ulbert-Schede (p. 12) and Schiller (II, 80), but neither documents it. Only Wilk both recognizes it and attempts to document it, and her attempt is slightly flawed. She misdates two works in which Christ carries the cross: the Gospel Book of Matilda, fol. 101r., executed c. 1100, according to Garrison ("Lucchese Passionary," p. 191), and not earlier in the eleventh century (Wilk, cat. no. 125); the fresco at Sant'Urbano alla Caffarella, also c. 1100 instead of 1011, as the repainted inscription states (Toesca, p. 1023, n. 6; E. W. Anthony, Romanesque Frescoes [Princeton, 1951], p. 71; Garrison, "Pictorial Histories XII: A Gradual of S. Stefano, Bologna," Studies, IV, 107; Wilk, cat. no. 166). She is thus forced to consider both works aberrations yet both in fact corroborate her statement that the new type is a phenomenon of the twelfth century (p. 191). Furthermore, her analytical tables omit two pre-1100 examples in which Simon carries the cross: the fresco at SS. Martiri, Cimitile (Belting, Cimitile, pp. 58-60, fig. 4) and a late eleventh-century lectionary in Gnesen, Bibl. Kapitulna, Ms. 1-a, fol. 48v. (Stanislawa Sawicka, Bulletin de la Société française de reproductions de manuscrits a peintures, 19 [1938], 256-80). Other errors in dating (a reliquary in Esztergom, executed c. 1190 [Margaret Frazer, "Byzantine Art and the West," in The Year 1200, ed. Florens Deuchler (New York, 1970), p. 197] and not in the eleventh century [Wilk, cat. no. 52]; Leningrad 105, c. 1200-10 (Carr, p. 215, n. 1), not c. 1290 (Wilk, cat. no. 82) and of omission (frescoes at Boyana [Krustiu Miiutev, Die Wandmalereien in Bojana (Dresden, 1961), pl. 23], Arilye [Miller-Frolow, II, pl. 76 (2)], Ohrid [Millet-Frolow, III, pl. 8 (2)], and Cucur [Millet-Frolow, III, pl. 54 (4)]) mar an otherwise excellent study.

²⁰ On the Cimitile fresco see note 19; for Sant'Angelo, Schiller, II, fig. 210. For other examples see Wilk, Table 4, p. 270.

²¹ Millet, fig. 392.

²² The motif actually goes back to the fifth century; see note 41. Exceptions occur in the rare Byzantine monuments in which Christ carries the cross, and in Cappadocia, where He is led by the neck (on this point see p. 150). Paris 74 is unusual in that Christ's hands are tied behind His back; they are far more commonly tied in front.

²³ See, for instance, the Aachen antependium, Schiller, II, fig. 282.

²⁴ Garrison has suggested that Gullielmus was familiar with Ottonian models ("Lucchese Passionary," p. 117), and that from these and from Montecassino came his Byzantine motifs (p. 113).

²⁵ The sole Byzantine examples of the motif known to me occur in fourteenth-century Serbian frescoes: at Gračanica (Oto Bihalji-Merin, Fresken und Ikonen: Mittelalterliche Kunst in Serbien und Makedonien [Munich, 1958], pl. 56) and Lesnovo (Millet-Frolow, IV, pl. 15 [33]). But it should be noted that intrusions from Western iconography were not unknown in Serbia at this time. See Demus, "The Style of the Kariye Djami and its Place in the Development of Paleogan Art," in The Kariye Djami, IV, ed. Paul Underwood (Princeton, 1975), p. 136. The fact that the nails in both frescoes carried in a basket suggests possible reliance on an Italian model; as Wilk has observed (p. 181), this detail occurs only in Italy.

²⁶ On the San Zeno panel, see George H. Crichton, Romanesque Sculpture in Italy (London, 1954), pp. 34-36. The panel contains several iconographic peculiarities which are discussed in note 61 below. On the relief at Le Puy, also executed around 1100, see Noel Thiollier, L'Architecture religieuse à l'époque romane dans l'ancien diocèse du Puy (Paris, 1900), pl. 26.

²⁷ Besides the Verona relief, the Sarzana Cross and Uffizi No. 432 (see note 10), the Arma Christi appear in only two other extant Italian works until c. 1240: a relief from the Pontile of Modena (Whitney Stoddard, The Facade of Saint-Gillis-du-Gard [Middletown, Conn., 1973], fig. 231), which is, further, said to derive from a French source, the relief at St.-Gilles-du-Gard (Stoddard, fig. 230, p. 187), and a relief at Monte Sant'Angelo, Foggia (A. Kingsley Porter, Romanesque Sculpture of the Pilgrimage Roads, [Boston, 1923], fig. 198). In France, where an ax sometimes replaces the hammer, the motif is more common. Of the six instances known to me of the Arma in twelfth-century Northern representations of the Way to Calvary, five are French: the door panel at Le Puy cited in note 26; a capital from Cunault (Marie Brincard, Cunault [Paris, 1937], pl. 42): a relief at Notre-Dame-des-Pommiers, Beaucaire (Stoddard, fig. 228); a relief at St.-Paul-les-Dax (Porter, fig. 330); a page from a late twelfth-century manuscript, New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, Ms. M. 44, fol. 58r. (Konrad Hoffman, ed., The Year 1200, I: The Exhibition [New York, 1970], cat no. 242, p. 243). The motif also probably appeared at St.-Gilles (Wilk, p. 142). The fifth example is a Swedish relief at Endre (John Roosval, Die Steinmeister Gottlands [Stockholm, 1918], fig. 88). In the thirteenth century, the motif continues to be especially characteristic of French iconography; the Princeton Index includes fourteen examples of its occurrence in Northern art, and all but one is French. Wilk discusses the Arma briefly (p. 181), but does not mention the apparent emergence of the motif around 1100 or its predominance in France.

²⁸On the relationship between the depiction of the Arma Christi in Passion scenes and the cult of relics, see Schiller, II, 189-90; for a more detailed account, consult Rudolf Berliner, "Arma Christi," Münchener Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst, 6 (1955), 35-152.

²⁹On the discovery of the Holy Lance, see Steven Runciman, "The Holy Lance Found at Antioch," Analecta Bolliandiana, 57 (1950), 197-205. The promoters of the relic's authenticity suffered a slight setback when its discoverer, a peasant from southern France, failed the trial by fire, but the Lance was nevertheless widely venerated by the devout in Provence. On the display of relics to rally support for the Crusade of 1101, see James Lee Cate, "The Crusade of 1101," in A History of the Crusades, ed. Kenneth N. Sutton, I: The First Hundred Years (Madison, Wisc., 1969), pp. 348-49. Further connections between the crusades and the iconography of the Way to Calvary will be discussed below, pp. 143-44.

³⁰According to Schiller (II, 189), one of the nails was inserted in the lance. Runciman, A History of the Crusades, I (Cambridge, 1951), 245, notes that the relic of the lance was described as a nail by a contemporary chronicler.

³¹One especially relevant text, by Theofrid of Echternach (d. 1110), is cited by Berliner: "O quam praeclara dominicorum clavicorum et salutaris lanceae specialis materies...O quam sancta, quam pretiosa, quam dulcis, quam amabilis et delectabilis ferri materia, unde clavi...." He refers to others, also in circulation at the beginning of the twelfth century, on p. 129, n. 47.

³²In addition to the appearance of the motif at Verona around 1100 (see note 26), an isolated representation of the Holy Nail in the Lamb of God occurs for the first time in the same year, in a portable altar in the cathedral treasury of Modena (Berliner, p. 42; p. 184, n. 1). Neither Berliner nor Schiller observes the apparent importance of this period as a time of particular interest in these relics, nor does either mention the finding of the Holy Lance in connection with the emergence of the motif. It is interesting to note that Theofrid writes of the lance as well as the nails, and that the lance also appears in the Modena altar.

³³For the Gospel Book of Matilda see Warner, pl. XXV. Garrison has noted "contact" between this manuscript and Lucchese painting ("Lucchese Passionary," p. 191). For the relationship between the cross in the Gospel Book and Ottonian prototypes, see Schiller, II, figs. 238-40; even the stake at the base of the cross is similar. The flaring contour does not appear in these, but is found in the Egbert Codex (Schiller, II, fig. 284).

³⁴See, for instance, figs. 79 and 83 of this paper, and Millet, figs. 382, 383, 385, 389, 390, 402, 403.

³⁵Schiller, II, figs. 238-40.

³⁶Figs. 79 and 83 of this paper, and Millet, figs. 382, 383, 385, 386, 387, 389, 390, 402, 403, 404. This method of carrying the cross also appears in Western works which were derived from Eastern models, such as the fresco at Sant'Angelo (Schiller, II, fig. 210), and is commonly used in Italy from the end of the twelfth century.

³⁷Figs. 78, 79, and 83 of this paper; Millet, figs. 386, 387, 390, 391, 402, 403, 404, 407.

³⁸For the most part the new details recall Ottonian formulations. Both the executioner leading Christ by the hand and his crony shoving Christ's back appear in, for instance, the Book of Pericopes of Henry III (Bremen, Staatsbibliothek, Ms. b 21, fol. 53; Schiller, II, fig. 240); the latter had been adopted earlier in Italy, as the Sant'Urbano fresco shows (Millet, fig. 392). The thick titulus on the cross occurs not only in Ottonian monuments but is widely diffused in earlier Western art in general; see Schiller, II, figs. 348, 364, 366, 374, 382, 546, 547.

³⁹See p. 159, note 22. One curious work, a fresco at Elmale Kilisse (Schiller, II, fig. 283), manages to combine the two types. Here, Christ is led by the neck, as He customarily is in Cappadocia (see p. 150), so that His hands are free to hold the scroll and gesture. The fresco probably results from the superimposition of the Cappadocian motif, the rope around Christ's neck, upon a much older prototype. One indication of such a source is the soldier escorting Christ--a figure especially characteristic of Early Christian iconography (see note 45).

⁴⁰Millet, p. 563; Velmans, Tetraévangile, p. 19.

⁴¹See, for instance, an ivory from Milan, fig. 84, or the mosaic at Sant'Apollinare Nuovo, Schiller, II, fig. 281. This insistence on Christ's autonomy and, implicitly, His divinity during the Passion characterizes both Early Christian iconography and exegetical texts. See Carlo Cecchelli, Il Trionfo della Croce (Rome, 1954) and Schiller, II, 2-9. But as early as the fifth century, this image of Christ as freely and independently marching to His death began to lose favor: the doors of Santa Sabina, Rome, depict Him with hands bound (Schiller, II, fig. 207), and after the sixth century the earlier type only infrequently appears. In the West, Christ is bound less regularly but

is almost always dragged, shoved, prodded and otherwise manhandled by His captors; only rarely is He left essentially unmolested, as in the San Frediano Cross.

⁴²Other examples include the fresco at Sant'Urbano (Millet, fig. 392), Uffizi No. 432, and the relief on the door of Benevento Cathedral (Schiller, II, fig. 286).

⁴³I know of no other Western example in which the gesturing figure wears the uniform of a miles. This costume does occur, though infrequently, in the East, as in the fresco at Elmale Kilisse (see note 39). The escorting gesture of the soldier appears, to my knowledge, in no other Eastern or Western medieval version of the scene.

⁴⁴Schiller, II, fig. 207.

⁴⁵On the ivory, see Wolfgang F. Volbach, Early Christian Art (New York, 1962), fig. 98. In both the Santa Sabina panel and the ivory, the Way to Calvary is combined with the scene of Pilate Washing his Hands--a common Early Christian type (Schiller, II, 79). The Roman soldier serves as a visual and thematic link between the two scenes, as he is one of Pilate's retinue. Later representations of the Way to Calvary which retain the motif of the soldier, such as the fresco at Elmale Kilisse (see notes 39 and 43), probably stem ultimately from this Early Christian type.

⁴⁶According to Volbach, p. 329, the ivory is North Italian, possibly from Milan. That the curious iconography of the San Frediano Flagellation finds its closest antecedent on a tenth-century ivory also attributed to Milan may be more than coincidental (see note 14).

⁴⁷Simon was considered in Cappadocia to have been among the seventy additional disciples selected by Jesus (Luke 10:1, 17); he is thus frequently depicted with a halo as well as a long chiton. See Millet, p. 363; Colwell and Willoughby, p. 346. The depiction of Simon in long robes also occurs in Serbia, at Čučer (Millet-Frolow, III, pl. 53 [4]); that composition, in which Christ is led by a rope around His neck, probably derives from a Cappadocian model.

⁴⁸The short tunic is most common, but the long robes occur in occasional Ottonian manuscripts (Schiller, II, figs. 238-40), in Sant' Angelo (Schiller, II, fig. 210), and at Benevento (Schiller, II, fig. 286).

⁴⁹On the fresco at Vicq see Liliane Brion-Guerry, Fresques romanes de France (Milan, 1958), fig. 53. Wilk also observes the occurrence of trousers at Vicq, which depicts an unusual juxtaposition

of the Betrayal with the Way to Calvary. But the panel and the fresco hardly "ähneln sich ja oft sehr," (p. 143), and it is most unlikely that the San Frediano Calvary is meant to include the Betrayal, as she proposes. Not the least objection to this theory is the fact that Judas, whose presence is obviously essential to the iconography of the Betrayal, is nowhere to be found in the San Frediano scene; the figure on the right, whom Wilk identifies as male, wears a woman's robe and raises veiled hands to Christ in the standard gesture of the holy women. Compare Plut. VI. 23, fol. 161r. (fig. 79).

⁵⁰ Wilk's attempt to relate it to the right tympanum of Santiago de Compostela succeeds for the figures of Christ and His captors but does not apply to Simon, who shares nothing with his counterpart on the tympanum. For a reproduction of the tympanum, see Porter, fig. 680.

⁵¹ Examples include the relief at Santiago de Compostela cited in note 50, the relief from St.-Gilles-du-Gard and the closely related relief at Beaucaire (on both see note 27).

⁵² Among them, Syria and Asia Minor; see Margarete Sieber, "Historical Development of Costume," Encyclopedia of World Art (1961).

⁵³ On the influx of these foreigners into Rome, see Jerome Carcopino, Daily Life in Ancient Rome (New Haven, 1940), p. 55.

⁵⁴ On the recurrence of Simon as cross-bearer before c. 1100, see above, pp. 135-36. The four earliest surviving examples of the new type all date around 1100: the miniature in the Gospel Book of Matilda, the fresco at Sant'Urbano (both cited in note 19), the door panels at Verona and Le Puy (both cited in note 26).

⁵⁵ The Princeton Index lists twenty-eight Northern European examples of the scene from the twelfth century; Christ carries the cross in twenty-two, Simon in only six.

⁵⁶ Exceptions occur in occasional monuments still influenced by Byzantine models, such as the Bibles Moralisesées in Oxford (Bodleian Library, Ms. 279b, fol. 76; Laborde, I, pl. 76) and in London (British Museum, Harley 1526-27, fol. 58; Laborde, III, pl. 529). See Wilk, Table IV, p. 270.

⁵⁷ Ulbert-Schede, pp. 12-13. The concept is not original: she credits it to K. A. Kneller, Geschichte der Kreuzwegandacht von der Anfängen bis zum volligen Ausbildung (Freiburg, 1908), p. 48. Wilk suggests other factors: a new interest in Christ's humanity and in the cross as "Martyrholz" (p. 191); typological parallels with the

Sacrifice of Isaac, who carried the wood to the sacrificial altar (pp. 44-45). But while both developments may have contributed to the later popularity of the theme, neither would account for the rapidity with which the new image displaced the old, and neither applies directly to the specific period under discussion, the turn of the twelfth century. In three of the four earliest surviving examples of the new image--in the Gospel Book of Matilda, at Sant'Urbano (both cited in note 19), and at Le Puy (see note 26)--the cross is not depicted as "Martyrholz": Christ does not struggle under its weight but hoists it effortlessly over one shoulder. (On the fourth, at Verona, see note 61). And typological parallels such as that between Isaac and Christ do not become common until the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries; see Schiller, II, 83.

⁵⁸ For a fuller account of Urban's address, see James A. Brundage, The Crusades: A Documentary Survey (Milwaukee, 1962), p. 20.

⁵⁹ The connection is already explicit in Origen's commentary on Matthew, P.G. XIII, 1038 (cited by Wilk, p. 29).

⁶⁰ In fact, if one examines the question further, one discovers corroborating evidence not cited by the German scholars. Of three of the earliest examples of the new image--at Le Puy (note 26), in the Gospel Book of Matilda, and at Sant'Urbano (both cited in note 19)--two, and possibly all three, can be linked with Urban II and the First Crusade. The connection is most obvious at Le Puy: its bishop, Adhémar of Monteil, was perhaps the staunchest of Urban's supporters and the first to take the cross; Urban rewarded him by appointing him legate of the First Crusade in 1095 (Runciman, I, 108-110). Matilda, too, was closely affiliated with Urban--one of his few allies, in fact, in all Italy (Runciman, I, 101). That the first depictions of Christ Bearing the Cross occur in monuments commissioned by close associates of Urban seems more than fortuitous. The donor of the final example, the fresco at Sant'Urbano, is unknown (with the spurious inscription of the date is a name, Bonizzio, equally likely to be spurious--see Anthony, p. 71); but is it entirely implausible that Urban himself might have been involved with the decoration of a church bearing the name of his patron saint?

⁶¹ Other examples include the relief at the Pontile of Modena and at Monte Sant'Angelo (both cited in note 27); a door panel at Benevento (Schiller, II, fig. 286); and the mosaic at San Marco (Schiller, II, fig. 247).

Christ carries the cross in only two other pre-Dugento works known to me: an Umbrian fresco in San Pietro near Ferentillo, executed around 1200, and the bronze door panel of San Zeno, Verona, c. 1100 (see note 26; fig. 82). The fresco, which has been restored, has been linked by Oertel (p. 29) to Roman tradition; conceivably a model like

the Sant'Urbano fresco (see note 19) lies behind this provincial image. The case of the San Zeno panel is more complex. Here the composition differs considerably from the other three works surviving from the same period (see note 54) and from any later Italian version of the scene. Christ is shown staggering, stripped to the waist, being mercilessly taunted and struck by his three captors; one actually drags Him by the hair. The scene is, to my knowledge, unique: in no extant contemporary work, and in no later Italian representation of the scene, is Christ treated quite so viciously. The sadistic behavior of these ruffians is all the more striking when one considers another extremely uncommon detail: they are explicitly identified by their peaked caps as Jews (on the Judenhut see Ruth Mellinkoff, The Horned Moses in Medieval Art and Thought [Berkeley, 1970], pp. 128-31). It seems likely, then, that this singular image was motivated by an intense anti-Semitism, by a fervent desire to emphasize both the brutality and the Jewishness of Christ's tormentors. What explains this striking hostility in Verona at the end of the eleventh century? A clue lies in the non-Italian style of the panel: a number of scholars have noted the Germanic flavor of the work, and have suggested the possibility of German authorship (for the literature see Crichton, pp. 34-36). Now the anti-Semitism exuded by the panel makes chilling sense: in 1096, Christians in the Rhineland and in Bavaria murdered literally thousands of Jews in a tragic perversion of the religious fervor of the Crusades (Runciman, I, 134-40). The Verona panel seems a visual expression of the sentiment that inspired these massacres, and hardly representative of the iconography of the Way to Calvary in Italy.

⁶² Other instances of the new type include the three works cited in note 6.

⁶³ The models which our mid-Dugento painters used were not necessarily Northern, since the new theme, Christ Bearing the Cross, had been known in Italy since the early twelfth century. The point is not so much the precise geographic origins of the models selected by our painters as the facts that (1) these artists again displayed their dissatisfaction with the image heretofore used in Tuscany and replaced it; (2) the general type which replaced it was Western, not Byzantine.

⁶⁴ J. S. R. Boase, Saint Francis of Assisi (Bloomington, Ind., 1968), p. 36. The significance of this passage to St. Francis is explained by his biographer, St. Bonaventura: after the vision which converted him, Francis "realized immediately that the words of the Gospel were addressed to him: 'if you have a mind to come my way, renounce yourself, and take up your cross and follow me'" (cf. Matthew 16:14; Omnibus, p. 639). The same passage occurs in the Gospel of the Mass of the Stigmatization, and at times appears on works of Franciscan origin; on both see George Kaftal, Iconography of the Saints in Tuscan Painting (Florence, 1952), p. 386. Both Ulbert Schede, p. 15

and Wilk, p. 35, associate Franciscan thought with the new iconographic type, but neither specifically relates it to the adoption of the new image in Tuscany in the 1240's.

⁶⁵ Franciscan authors were not, of course, the first to follow the account of St. John in this regard; as Wilk observes, Carolingian accounts sometimes describe Christ as carrying the cross Himself, (p. 10), and this conception recurs in Northern Europe at the time of the Crusades (see Ulbert-Schede's discussion, pp. 12-13). But certain important texts of the late twelfth and early thirteenth century describe Simon as the cross-bearer (Peter Comestor, P.L., CXCVIII, 1629; Pseudo-Anselm, P.L., CLXIX, 281). Further, Franciscan authors do not merely record the fact that Christ carried His own cross but stress it. See Pseudo-Bede, P.L., XCIV, 565 (cf. also the reference to Christ's command, XCIV, 562); St. Bonaventura, Works, I, 123, 164, 241; Pseudo-Bonaventura, Meditations (Ragusa and Green, pp. 331-32).

⁶⁶ For instance, the scene appears prominently on the Oblate Master's diptych for the convent of Santa Chiara, Lucca (now in the Uffizi; Index, No. 243), and in the fresco cycle in the Upper Church of San Francesco, Assisi (Belting, Oberkirche, pl. 60). The Santa Chiara diptych contains two other motifs, the swooning Virgin and the single nail piercing Christ's feet, which have recently been associated with Franciscan spirituality; both appear there for perhaps the first time in Tuscan painting. On the possible Franciscan origins of both, see Maria Laura Cristiani Testi, "Nicola Pisano e la committenza dell' Arcivescovo Federico Visconti," Critica d'Arte, 139 (March-April, 1975), 17-33.

The occurrence of the theme on the seal of the Minorites has been noted by Ulbert-Schede, who assembled twenty-four seals of mendicant orders with the image of Christ carrying the cross. Of these eleven are Franciscan, six are Dominican; other orders are represented by only one or two. See pp. 23-24 of her study. On seals in general, see Gale Pedrick, Monastic Seals of the Thirteenth Century (London, 1902).

⁶⁷ It is conceivable that the spread of the type is also related to the Crusades, specifically to Louis IX's crusade announced in 1244. This crusade, which was preached by the Franciscans, triumphed in 1249 with the capture of Damietta, and Italian fleets, particularly Pisan and Genoese, contributed to the victory (Runciman, III, 256-63). Thus the sudden appearance of the new image in the 1240's--and especially its popularity in Pisa (see p. 129 above)--may partially reflect a renewed interest in the crusading movement at just this time. The active support of the Franciscans for this crusade indicates the possible interrelationship of these two factors in the proliferation of the new type.

Finally, it should be noted that the apparent tendency to avoid the scene in the last third of the Dugento (see pp. 129-30) comes at a

time in which the Crusades suffered a series of crippling blows: the fall of Antioch in 1268, of Margab in 1285, Lattiakich in 1287, Tripoli in 1289, and Acre in 1291 (Runciman, III, 387-423).

⁶⁸See above, pp. 137-39.

⁶⁹Schiller, II, 190.

⁷⁰The two twelfth-century examples known to me both represent the Preparation for the Crucifixion rather than the Way to Calvary: one is a relief from a baptismal font at Aakirkeby in Sweden (Roosval, fig. 214); the second is a miniature from the Hortus Deliciarum, fol. 143v. (Joseph Walter, Herrade de Landsberg, "Hortus Deliciarum" [Strassburg and Paris, 1952], pl. 28a). The composition in the Hortus is almost identical to the mosaic of the same subject at Monreale (see note 4); there, however, the ladder does not appear. On the ladder in general see Wilk, p. 180.

⁷¹The two earliest examples occur in windows from Laon (Marcel Aubert et al., Le vitrail français sous la haute direction du Musée des Arts Décoratifs de Paris [Paris, 1958], fig. 95) and Chartres (Delaporte, II, pl. CLVI); later examples include a window from Rouen (Ritter, pl. XX) and a page from the Psalter of Isabelle (fol. 212v.; Cockerell, pl. XXI). No other thirteenth-century Northern example is known to me.

⁷²Wilk's statement that "das Motif der gebundenen Hande Christi ist nur dort möglich, wo Simon das Kreuz trägt" (p. 167) obviously does not apply to Enrico.

⁷³Bibliothèque Nationale, N. Acq. lat. 1392, fol. 10v.; Victor Léroquais, Les psautiers manuscrits latins des bibliothèques publiques de France (Macon, 1940-41), p. 137; pls. LXIII-LXVI.

⁷⁴Other thirteenth-century examples include the Castellare Master's two versions of the scene and the Magdalen Master's triptych in the Metropolitan Museum (see note 6); Trecento examples include Giotto's fresco in the Arena Chapel (Schiller, II, fig. 288) and Barna da Siena's sadistic variation in which the executioner shoves a pole in the Virgin's face (Schiller, II, fig. 289). Sandberg-Vavalà, Croce dipinta, pp. 440-45, lists twenty-nine examples, all from the Trecento; she overlooks Enrico, the Castellare Master and the Magdalen Master.

⁷⁵For a photograph see Hartt, fig. 99.

⁷⁶The Princeton Index includes twenty-seven Northern versions of the Way to Calvary from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries in which

the Virgin and/or holy women appear; in none of these does a member of the mob threaten them.

⁷⁷The first examples known to me is the Way to Calvary in the Limbourg Brothers' Très Riches Heures, fol. 147r. (Jean Longnon, The Très Riches Heures of Jean, Duke of Berry [New York, 1969], pl. 111). Curiously, Simone's general composition had appeared earlier in several Franco-Flemish works: Jacquemart de Hesdin borrowed it both in his Brussels Hours, fol. 156 (Millard Meiss, French Painting in the Time of Jean de Berry: The Late Fourteenth Century and the Patronage of the Duke [New York, 1967], fig. 194), and in his panel in the Louvre (Meiss, figs. 277-78), and the Limbourgs had already experimented with it in their earlier Belles Heures, fol. 138v. (Meiss and Elizabeth H. Beatson, The Belles Heures of Jean, Duke of Berry [New York, 1974], fol. 138v.). Each of these, however, omits Simone's dramatic confrontation between the Virgin and the mace-wielding villian.

⁷⁸Velmans, Tetraévangile, p. 13. She does note that occasional deviations from the text occur.

⁷⁹Donehoo, p. 346. The episode is not mentioned in any other source known to me, despite the fact that a number of Eastern texts stressed the Virgin's presence on the road to Golgotha. Among these are the Kontakion of Romance (Marjorie Carpenter, Kontakia of Romanos, Byzantine Melodist [Columbia, Mo., 1970], I, 196-98); accounts by George of Nicomedia (P.G., C, 1462-63), Simeon Metaphrastes (P.G., CXV, 551), the authors of the Christos Paschon (Venetia Cottas, L'Influence du drame "Christos Paschon" sur l'art chrétien d'Orient [Paris, 1931], pp. 66-67) and the Cyprus Passion Play (Mahr, p. 193). Presumably texts like these influenced the Western theologians who placed still greater emphasis on the Virgin's role: Peter Comestor (P.L., CXCVIII, 1629-30), Pseudo-Bernard (P.L., CLXXXII, 1135), Pseudo-Bede (P.L., XCIV, 565-66), Pseudo-Anselm (P.L., CLIX, 281) and Pseudo-Bonaventura (Ragusa and Green, pp. 331-32). Though these narratives, both Eastern and Western, often vividly describe the hostility of the throng (in the Christos Paschon it is "delirious,...ferocious, bloodthirsty, brutal and savage"), in none does a member of the mob order the Virgin to desist. For a recent discussion of Western medieval Passion narratives, see Marrow, pp. 167-81.

⁸⁰In the Sarzana Cross (fig. 72) and in Uffizi No. 432 (fig. 73) the women's hands are not veiled; in the San Frediano Cross (fig. 74) they raise them only to their shoulders.

⁸¹In the Sarzana Cross (fig. 72) this figure wears a long robe; in the San Frediano Cross (fig. 74), military garb. In Uffizi No. 432 (fig. 73) he appears to wear a short tunic, but the poor condition of the panel makes it difficult to be sure.

⁸²In both the Sarzana and San Frediano Crosses (figs. 72 and 74) the mob is grouped in a semicircular cluster; in Uffizi No. 432 (fig. 73) Christ is noticeably taller than His captors.

⁸³A general resemblance between Enrico's composition and the corresponding scene of Plut. VI. 23 was also observed in the study of the Mocking of Christ (see Chapter III, p.197).

⁸⁴See, for instance, the compositions of Simone Martini and Barna da Siena, cited in notes 74 and 75.

⁸⁵Tintoretto uses the motif in a fresco in the Scuola di San Rocco, Venice (Schiller, II, fig. 296). Michelangelo gives further testimony to its familiarity in a letter to Giovanni Francesco Patucci: "From the first time that Pope Julius went to Bologna, I was forced to go there, with a rope around my neck, to ask his pardon ..." (quoted in Charles Seymour, ed., Michelangelo: The Sistine Chapel Ceiling [New York, 1972], p. 111).

⁸⁶Millet, p. 363; Sandberg-Vavalà, Croce dipinta, p. 271, Wilk, p. 167.

⁸⁷Non-Cappadocian examples include two Serbian frescoes, at Prilep and Čučer (Millet-Frolow, III, pls. 24[3], and 53[4]). The long robe worn by Simon at Čučer suggests that this composition reflects a Cappadocian model; see note 47.

⁸⁸Wilk, pp. 113, 124. A description of the liturgy used in Jerusalem can be found in the Peregrinatio of Silvia, a late fourth-century pilgrim to the Holy Land. The text has been published by Louis Marc Duchesne, Christian Worship: Its Origins and Evolution (London, 1903), pp. 490-523.

⁸⁹Pseudo-Bede, P.L., XCIV, 565: "Considera etiam quomodo postea duxerint eum ad Pilatum, manibus post tergum ligatis vel ante, et, ut dicitur, catenam in collo ejus, quae postea ostendebatur in Hierusalem peregrinis pro magna devotione..." Though one might argue that the motif could have originated with a passage like this, or with pilgrims' reports, the Castellare Master's source was probably visual rather than literary: in his composition Christ is led by a double cord rather than the usual single cord, and this use of a double cord recurs exactly in a Cappadocian fresco at Kokar Kilisse representing Christ led to Pilate (Thierry, p. 124, fig. 28). The Castellare Master, probably depended, directly or indirectly, on this sort of model.

Another example of the motif of a prisoner tied by the neck--cited by Millet, p. 363 and Wilk, p. 113--is found in the Rossano

Gospels, fol. 8v., Christ before Pilate: there, Barabbas is shackled by an immense chain fastened around his neck. Though neither Millet nor Wilk was aware of the composition's relationship with Palestine, it was probably modeled after a wall painting executed in Jerusalem, as Loerke has demonstrated (pp. 186-92).

It seems likely, then, that the motif first emerged in Palestine and was transmitted to Cappadocia. Connections between Palestinian and Cappadocian iconography have been discussed recently by Jaroslav Folda in "Aspects of Crusader Fresco Painting in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem," a paper presented to the Second Annual Byzantine Studies Conference, Madison, Wisconsin, November 12, 1976.

⁹⁰On the Pisan colonies in the Holy Land see Runciman, II, passim.

⁹¹On Francis as "alter Christus" in early Franciscan literature, see Chapter III, note 69. Francis voluntarily suffered this debasing treatment: to atone for breaking a fast, he "commanded a certain brother who was with him to tie a rope about his neck and to drag him ...through the city" (Thomas of Celano, The First Life of St. Francis, I, 52; Omnibus, pp. 272-73). Francis, of course, likely chose this act of penance in conscious imitation of Christ, but though the legend of the rope around Christ's neck was known in the West before the spread of the Franciscan Order (see also note 89), it is not, apparently, incorporated into the iconographic repertoire of Italian artists until after Francis' death.

⁹²See, for instance, a Franciscan Book of Hours of the early fourteenth century (Boston Public Library, Ms. q. Med. 131, fol. 35r.; Sticca, "Officium Passionis," pl. VIII). For another development in Passion iconography which seems to reflect the notion of Francis as "alter Christus," see Chapter V, note 53.

⁹³From the mid-eleventh century He generally wears only a tunic, but it is invariably equipped with sleeves. See Millet, figs. 382, 383, 391, 402, 403.

⁹⁴See, most recently, Weitmann, The Monastery of Saint Catherine at Mount Sinai, I, The Icons, I: From the Sixth to the Tenth Century (Princeton, 1976), p. 58.

⁹⁵A closely related image in a Dugento manuscript, Vat. lat. 39, fol. 64v., represents a slightly later moment, the Preparation for the Crucifixion; there Christ stands before the cross wearing a sleeveless colobium, with a double cord tied around His neck (this manuscript will be discussed in Chapter V; see fig. 92). Not only these

two motifs but such details as the dotted pattern of the priest's cloak suggest that the miniaturist knew, directly or indirectly, a Palestinian model; the dotted pattern recurs repeatedly in icons which Weitzmann ascribes to Palestine (*Icons*, I, *passim*), and Weitzmann describes it, in fact, as a "trademark" of the school (p. 67). The identical pattern also occurs in the work of both Enrico di Tedici and the Castellare Master (see figs. 7, 8, 9, 48, 156)--perhaps another indication of their reliance on Palestinian sources.

⁹⁶One of the only exceptions is the relief at Verona, the anomalous iconography of which was discussed in note 61.

⁹⁷The only other possible example is an unpublished work in the Schiff Collection, Pisa, cited by Sandberg-Vavalà in her chart on p. 440, no. 17. However, her notations indicate that the panel is in very poor condition, and it is possible that she was not able to judge correctly. Her chart also states that the holy women are absent from a triptych in the Blumenthal Collection, New York (by the Magdalen Master; now in the Metropolitan Museum, see note 6), but this is not accurate: they clearly appear, beseeching Christ, much as in the Castellare Master's version of the scene.

⁹⁸Carr, p. 215, n. 1.

⁹⁹Christ's stance is much the same in the St. Neophytos fresco of about 1200 (Mango and Hawkins, fig. 31). In other works, such as the Esztergon reliquary, c. 1190 (see note 19) and Berlin 66 (fig. 88), the suggestion of physical suffering is less pronounced, but still present in Christ's downcast eyes and stooped shoulders.

¹⁰⁰The concern with the height of the cross seen in Uffizi No. 434 also emerges in thirteenth-century devotional texts. Pseudo-Anselm, writing early in the century, describes it as fifteen feet long (*P.L.*, CLIX, 281), and later in the century Pseudo-Bonaventura elaborates: "the long, wide, very heavy cross...fifteen feet high" (Ragusa and Green, p. 331). This writer is also one of the first to describe Christ's physical exhaustion: "He goes along bowed down by the cross and gasping aloud" (Ragusa and Green, p. 331)--a passage which seems the literary equivalent of the image in Uffizi No. 434.

¹⁰¹As mentioned above (note 93), this development actually occurred earlier, around the middle of the eleventh century. Millet may be correct in suggesting (p. 371) that the change was prompted by the *Acta Pilati*, which states that Christ was led to Calvary in a red garment. Whatever the origins of the garment, its meaning to Western writers is clear: it was meant to evoke Christ's suffering and, thus, His humanity. Peter of Capus (d. 1242), for instance, associates it with Christ's flesh, and His human nature (cited by Wilk, p. 163).

¹⁰²Velmans' "Valeurs Affectives," perhaps the most thorough study of this phenomenon, notes that in Byzantine representations of the Way to Calvary from the late twelfth century, Christ is transformed from "un roi de gloire triomphant sur la mort, en un être souffrant, qui franchit péniblement les diverses étapes vers le supplice finale" (p. 50).

¹⁰³On the Ingeborg Psalter (Chantilly, Musée Condé, Ms. 1695) see Florens Deutschler, Der Ingeborgpsalter (Berlin, 1967). Other examples include the windows at Laon and Chartres cited in note 71 and the contemporary window at Bourges (Aubert, Vitrail, pl. vi).

On Byzantine influence in France during the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries, see William Koehler's pioneering study, "Byzantine Art in the West," Dumbarton Oaks Papers, I (1941), 61-87; the exhibition catalogue Byzance et la France médiévale (Paris, 1958); Jean Porcher, "Byzance et la peinture romane française: la Bible de Souvigny," La Revue des Arts, 7 (1958), 137-40; Demus, Byzantine Art and the West, pp. 163-204.

¹⁰⁴See p. 136.

¹⁰⁵On this point see note 17.

¹⁰⁶Schiller, II, 80. She exaggerates slightly. The Princeton Index includes several examples in which the Virgin and her companions do not appear, among them the early thirteenth-century psalter cited in note 73.

¹⁰⁷The holy women and especially the Virgin play an important role in the devotional texts circulating at this time; see note 79. On the cult of the Virgin in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries see Young, I, 494-95.

¹⁰⁸See note 97. The hilly landscape also appears in the Cypriot fresco of Asinou from the early twelfth century (W. H. Buckler et al., "The Church of Asinou, Cyprus, and its Frescoes," Archaeologia, 73 [1933], 327-50, pl. C-1).

¹⁰⁹"Byzantium and the West," p. 61. These "emotionalized" forms contrast sharply with the stolid and earthbound hills seen at Asinou almost a century earlier.

¹¹⁰This motif probably stems from a prototype like Plut. VI. 23. fol. 58r. (fig. 83).

CHAPTER V

THE MOUNTING OF THE CROSS

The next episode of the Passion to be depicted on a painted cross is an extremely unusual scene, the Mounting of the Cross. The rarity of the scene may reflect the fact that it is extra-canonical: the Evangelists omit any reference to the mechanics of the Crucifixion. Perhaps because of this reticence, only a single example of this scene occurs on the extant crosses; not surprisingly, this example is found on the most emotionally charged of the group, the San Gimignano Cross by Coppo di Marcovaldo.

In Coppo's composition (fig. 89), Christ's executioners have arrived with their prisoner at the hill of Golgotha and have completed the necessary preparations: the cross has been erected, the prisoner stripped of His robe. Now a cowled, bearded priest signals that the climactic moment has arrived: pointing to a ladder held by a helmeted soldier, he orders Christ to begin the ascent. Slowly, He complies, placing one foot on the lowest rung. As if impatient at the pace of the execution, soldiers prod Him along: one shoves His shoulder while another, stationed on the patibulum, brandishes nails and yanks a rope tied around Christ's neck.

The very subject is thus one of considerable intrinsic power, and Coppo heightens the impact of the scene in characteristic fashion. Christ's body is spattered with blood,¹ His stooped shoulders reveal His physical exhaustion, and His crossed hands, though apparently derived from His bound hands in the Way to Calvary, here imply a

futile attempt to hide His near-nakedness. Most compelling, though, is the suggestion of Christ's psychic suffering at the moment just before His death: His halting and tentative stance, His bowed head, and His downcast eyes all betray a deeply human reluctance to proceed.

What might have inspired Coppo in the creation of this composition? To the best of my knowledge, no precise parallel survives: no earlier or later work, Western or Eastern, depicts exactly this moment in exactly this way. But if Coppo's image is, in fact, unique, it is not entirely unprecedented: several groups of scenes exist--some Byzantine, some Western--which are both visually and thematically related to Coppo's panel, and which will at least partially clarify its origins.

Related Passion Scenes

The Preparation for the Crucifixion

In many respects Coppo's Mounting of the Cross is clearly indebted to a Byzantine image, the Preparation for the Crucifixion. This composition seems to have been created by Middle Byzantine artists: the earliest instance known to me is an icon of Mount Sinai dated to the late eleventh century² (fig. 90). Though this example is still iconographically spare, the essential components of the scene are already present. With hands bound, still wearing a tunic, Christ stands before the cross; the priest on the opposite side gestures toward it in explicit reference to His imminent fate.³

The scene presumably evolved from a detailed narrative sequence representing the Way to Calvary in several stages.⁴ In the Esztergom reliquary, c. 1190⁵ (fig. 91), the narrative flavor is still strong. Here both Christ and the priest stand on the left of the cross, and the priest turns back to Christ and gestures in a stance clearly related to the pose of the analogous figure who urges Christ on in representations of the Way to Calvary. Another transplant from that scene is the soldier who shoves Christ's shoulder.⁶ A related composition, in which the derivation from the Way to Calvary is even clearer, inspired the Italian illuminator of Vat. lat. 39, fol. 64v.⁷ (fig. 92). Here, in fact, Christ is still being led; a soldier holds one end of a rope, the other end of which is knotted around Christ's neck. As in the reliquary, this figure turns toward Christ.

This sort of composition, presumably extracted from a very dense narrative cycle, must lie behind the new image first seen in the Sinai icon (fig. 90). In the icon the narrative elements, the sense of progression from left to right, have been suppressed; the new image is static, symmetrical and hieratic. Thus this scene, like the Betrayal and the Mocking, further illustrates the emergence of hieratic and iconic elements in Middle Byzantine painting, a phenomenon first elucidated by Kurt Weitzmann.⁸

But if the Preparation can be traced in skeletal form to the eleventh century, it was the late twelfth century, with its propensity for expressive imagery, which fleshed out the composition with new detail. The mosaic at Monreale (fig. 93) is an apt example. Now a small battery of soldiers, wielding spears and halberds, surrounds

Christ, and a similar group accompanies the gesturing priest on the right. Another new motif appears in the bearded figure kneeling at the base of the cross, who raises a mallet to drive in the stakes securing the cross. Neither the mob nor the stake-driver is, however, an invention of the twelfth century; both have been appropriated from earlier Passion scenes. Clusters of soldiers carrying assorted weapons appeared as early as the sixth century, as in the Betrayal at Sant'Apollinare Nuovo (fig. 13). The stake-driver also seems to derive from an earlier motif, the executioner who nails Christ's feet to the cross in psalter illustrations.⁹ By the middle of the thirteenth century, another significant detail has entered the iconography of the scene: the ladder which Christ will climb to His death. In a Gospel book on Mount Athos (Ivion, cod. 5, fol. 214; fig. 94), the ladder has been placed directly before Christ and propped against the cross.¹⁰ A final, though peripheral, motif also appears here, a low wall which rises behind the figures.

Coppo's debt to a composition much like these is easily observed. In each Byzantine work, as in Coppo's panel, Christ stands before the crucifix, confronted by the gesturing priest; in each Christ's stance--wrists crossed, head bowed, eyes downcast--is almost exactly the same. Of the extant Byzantine scenes, the version at Monreale (fig. 93) most clearly anticipates Coppo's. In each the two protagonists are joined by a group of figures, some of whom wield glistening weapons. In each the placement, garb and stance of the priest is virtually identical. Another comparable detail is the kneeling executioner. Coppo has transferred this figure from the foot of the cross to the patibulum

and restored, in a sense, his original function: as in the earlier psalters, it will be his task to nail Christ to the cross. Despite these differences, the relationship between the two executioners, and the ultimate derivation of both from the corresponding figure in the psalters, is fairly clear.¹¹

Despite the clear parallels between Coppo's scene and that at Monreale, other details more specifically recall other late twelfth- and early thirteenth-century versions of the theme. The soldier showing Christ's shoulder appeared in the Esztergom reliquary (fig. 91); the ladder and the wall in Ivron 5 (fig. 94). The rope around Christ's neck was seen in the Vatican miniature (fig. 92) and presumably in its Byzantine prototype. A final detail also seems related to a Western work based on a Byzantine source: the position of the soldier holding the ladder may have been derived from a model similar to that which inspired the illuminator of the Hortus Deliciarum.¹²

Thus, as with each previously examined Passion scene, Coppo's Mounting of the Cross betrays an awareness of Byzantine compositions, particularly compositions dating from the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries. But the close correspondences between Coppo's panel and these Byzantine and Byzantinizing works do not obscure the significant differences: Coppo has again altered his model to present an image far more powerful than those which preceded his. Thus he depicts Christ clad not in the security of the colobium but stripped to a humiliating state of near nudity, thus revealing his blood-splattered torso. He adds the indignity inflicted by the executioner perched above who tugs the rope around Christ's neck. Most

significantly, he has changed the actual moment represented: Christ no longer merely contemplates His imminent death but haltingly begins His ascent up the ladder.

If these differences cannot be credited to a Byzantine source,¹³ can they stem from a related Western image? The inclusion of the scene in Vat. lat. 39 and the Hortus demonstrates that Coppo was not the first Western artist to adapt this Byzantine composition; in fact, several Northern versions of the scene, also predating the San Gimignano Cross, have survived. The earliest known to me is found in a leaf from the early twelfth-century psalter from Bury St. Edmunds¹⁴ (fig. 95). Here the origins of the scene in the Way to Calvary narrative are again clear: Christ and His captors have just arrived at Golgotha and enter to the left as two underlings stake the cross. Christ's hands, crossed before Him, and bowed head suggest the scene's ultimate derivation from a Byzantine archetype. So, too, does the motif of two men erecting the cross: in Ivron 5 (fig. 94) one similarly holds the cross while his companion drives it into the mound. But the English illuminator--whose Byzantinisms probably reflect an Ottonian intermediary¹⁵--has made one pertinent change: Christ is now clad only in a loincloth. The source of this change is not difficult to identify. Christ is similarly attired in the miniatures of the Way to Calvary directly preceding this scene,¹⁶ and in the Way to Calvary from a closely related manuscript, the St. Albans Psalter (fig. 81).¹⁷ This English modification of the Byzantine formula proved important for the later development of the theme in the North: the representation of Christ in a loincloth recurs in two of the three thirteenth-century Northern examples of the scene known to me.¹⁸

Conceivably, then, Coppo derived Christ's near-nudity from a Northern version of the Preparation; the analysis of the Mocking and the Way to Calvary suggested that mid-Dugento Florentine painters were familiar with Northern compositions. But if a Northern image prompted this departure from the Byzantine prototype,¹⁹ this sort of model cannot explain Coppo's other innovations: in none of these does an executioner yank Christ by the neck, and in none does Christ actually begin His ascent.

The Mounting of the Cross

Christ's ascent is, however, depicted in a group of works which are closely related to Coppo's panel. These representations of the Mounting of the Cross are almost exclusively Italian works of the late Dugento and early Trecento; perhaps the earliest of these Italian scenes is a panel by Guido da Siena from his San Domenico altarpiece of about 1280 (fig. 96).²⁰

At first glance Guido's work appears to be a more elaborate representation of much the same theme. As in Coppo's panel, this scene represents Christ's actual ascent: again He begins to climb the ladder with one foot still on the ground, the other poised on a low rung. A number of common details--the placement of the ladder, the gesticulating bearded figure to the right, the spear-wielding soldiers, the executioner stationed at the cross-bar, the conspicuous display of hammer and nails--further underline the kinship of the two scenes. Guido, not unexpectedly, has made certain changes. Anticipating Duccio's great crowd scenes, he expands Coppo's cast of characters to

include a wide range of soldiers and spectators; he adds also the crosses of the two thieves. Befitting the Sienese devotion to the Virgin, he accords a prominent role to Mary, who encircles Christ's waist in a futile attempt to prevent her son's death.²¹

But Guido's composition differs from Coppo's in a far more crucial respect, one which has little to do with Guido's Sienese origins: the conceptions of Christ underlying the two scenes are radically different. Unlike Coppo's anguished prisoner who laboriously begins the ascent, Guido's Christ resolutely seizes the ladder and bounds forward, actually bypassing the lowest rung in His apparent eagerness to proceed. The profoundly human image of Coppo's suffering victim has been displaced by this image of Christ as triumphant Savior, whose will to redeem humanity far outweighs any reluctance to suffer and die.

This general composition makes a number of appearances in the later Dugento and early Trecento.²² But though the scene undergoes many modifications, most later versions follow Guido in depicting Christ freely climbing the ladder and in thus emphasizing His heroic acceptance of death.²³ The later development of the theme thus seems to shed little light on the origins of Coppo's composition but merely to point up again its apparent uniqueness.²⁴

The Despoliation of Christ

Closer to Coppo's scene, both chronologically and visually, are two representations which depict the Despoliation or Stripping of Christ.²⁵ Both have been dated to the exact decade, 1255-65, to which most scholars assign the San Gimignano Cross.²⁶ The first is a fresco

discovered only in 1971 in San Sebastiano, a Latian monastery which housed a community of the Poor Clares (fig. 97). Eric Prehn, who published the scene, dates it 1260-65 and ascribes it to a Tuscan painter closely associated with Coppo.²⁷ Here Christ does not actually begin the ascent, as in Coppo's panel, but simply stands before the ladder, clad in a translucent loincloth, as one of the executioners peels off His outer garment. On the right another, flanked by a cluster of soldiers, gestures toward the cross as if exhorting Christ to proceed. Directly behind Christ is the Virgin, who gestures in protest as another member of the mob motions her away. The moment depicted thus differs from that in Coppo's panel, but the imminent ascent is strongly implied by the ladder and the gesticulating executioner. And as Prehn has pointed out, the position of Christ, the type of the Virgin, and especially the fiery drama of the scene all recall the work of the great Florentine.²⁸

The second example of the Stripping of Christ also appears at exactly the same moment, c. 1260; this instance occurs in a Bible in the collection of Dyson Perrins ascribed to a Bolognese painter (fol. 3v.; fig. 98).²⁹ Here only the Stripping is represented; the implications of the Mounting felt at San Sebastiano are absent, for the ladder is nowhere in sight. Otherwise, however, the composition clearly recalls Coppo's: the soldiers to the left, the motif of the hammer and nails (here held by the gesturing executioner), and especially the stance of Christ with sloping shoulders and bowed head closely resemble the San Gimignano scene.

A related work, not Italian but German, should perhaps be introduced at this juncture, for it further indicates the close relationship between the Mounting of the Cross and the Stripping of Christ. This composition appears in a psalter from Bamberg now in Melk (fol. 47v.; fig 99).³⁰ The psalter--significantly, perhaps, also dated to the decade 1255-65³¹--represents Christ ascending the cross as executioners issue orders and display hammer and nails. Here, however, the Despoliation is also depicted: Christ has climbed midway up the ladder and turns to an executioner who peels away His garment, thus revealing, as in Coppo's panel, the still-bleeding wounds of the Flagellation and, as in the San Sebastiano fresco, a translucent loincloth which does little to conceal His nakedness.³²

These three compositions thus seem most directly related to Coppo's--chronologically, thematically, and, in the case of the two Italian works, visually. The two Italian examples are significant also in their link to a group of later Dugento Passion scenes. The Bolognese manuscript closely resembles several later compositions, all from the region of Umbria, Emilia and Romagna; the best known example is the fresco attributed to the Saint Francis Master in the Lower Church of San Francesco, Assisi (fig. 100).³³ This group is so closely related that they almost surely reflect a common model; the activity of Giunta Pisano throughout this region suggests the possibility of a lost work by this Tuscan master.³⁴

More relevant in terms of its implications of a major lost work is the San Sebastiano fresco. It clearly anticipates Guido de Siena's panel in a number of points: the helmeted soldiers to the right (in

most other compositions they appear on the left), the presence of the Virgin, her desperate struggle with the executioner, even the short tunic worn by this figure instead of the long robes worn by his associates. It is most unlikely that this specific work, hidden in a minor monastery in Latium, would have been known to the Sienese painter. Far more likely, in view of the San Sebastiano painter's associations with Coppo and Guido's own well documented debt to Coppo,³⁵ is the possibility that the San Sebastiano fresco reflects a lost composition by Coppo himself. The San Gimignano panel may be an abbreviated version of this work, in which the Virgin and the Stripping were eliminated because of the apron panel's restricted compositional space; alternatively, the expanded scene may have been developed from the San Gimignano composition. At any rate, it appears likely that this influential scene originated with Coppo himself and that it occupied an important position in later Dugento Passion iconography, spawning Guido's panel and its many derivatives as well as the San Sebastiano fresco.

But if Coppo was, in fact, the first Dugento painter to represent the Mounting of the Cross, what inspired him to depict this novel episode instead of the more familiar Byzantine Preparation for the Crucifixion? Possible answers may be found in examining the medieval texts which discuss Christ's Passion and especially the moments immediately preceding His death.

Literary sources

As noted above, the matter of the specific mechanics of the Crucifixion is a point on which the canonical Gospels are silent.³⁶ The

apocrypha--specifically the Acta Pilati, Recension B--provide only a modicum of concrete detail, noting that after Christ was stripped, the Jews and soldiers "raised Him and drew Him upon the cross."³⁷ Brief references to Christ's ascent of the cross appear occasionally in the writings of the early Fathers of the Church. St. Ambrose, for instance, writes in a commentary on Luke, "Non enim suam, sed nostram crucem Christus ascendit."³⁸ But in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries these terse references to the events just before the Crucifixion become greatly enlarged in the form of devotional texts. Authors of these pseudonymous accounts, seeking to convey the physical reality of Christ's suffering with new force, discuss these final moments in considerable detail. The fullest of these popular texts is the Meditationes Vitae Christi by Pseudo-Bonaventura. Because Pseudo-Bonaventura describes the preparations for the Crucifixion in vivid and precise detail,³⁹ a number of writers have cited this text as the source of the Mounting of the Cross.⁴⁰ Unfortunately, however, Meditationes postdates Coppo's panel and the related Passion scenes by at least one and probably several decades;⁴¹ an earlier tract must lie behind them. A brief account appears in Pseudo-Anselm's Dialogus,⁴² but a far more explicit description is provided by Pseudo-Bede's De Meditatione Passione Christi:⁴³

Then consider that the clamoring crowd leads Christ to the place of Calvary, and then, with them all watching there, He is stripped of His garments, and with greatest pain, because the inner part of the garment stuck tight [to Him] because of the blood of the flagellation, and then His body appeared, [once] so finely formed, totally bloodied. O what great sorrow it was to you, most holy Mother, when you beheld that sight. Then, when the cross had been prepared, they cry: "Ascend, Jesus, ascend." O how freely He ascends, with what great love for us He bore

everything, with what patience, what gentleness! . . . Thus, entirely nude, He is raised and extended on the cross. But His most loving mother, full of anguish, placed her veil, which had been on her head, around Him, and covered His shame. . . . Then cruelly He is raised, extended, and with His entire sacred body He is spread and stretched apart.

Clearly this text, often overlooked in iconographic studies,⁴⁴ conforms to a striking degree with the representations under consideration. The specific moments described, directly preceding the Crucifixion, obviously correspond with the various images in question. The reference to Christ's ascent recalls the different representations of the Mounting; the mention of His stripping, the various Despoliations; the conjunction of the two is paralleled in the Melk manuscript and the San Sebastiano fresco. The allusion to the wounds of the Flagellation particularly suggests both the Melk manuscript and Coppo's panel, with their depictions of Christ's bloody torso. Finally, the prominent role ascribed to the Virgin, "full of anguish," calls to mind her active involvement at San Sebastiano and in Guido's adaptation of that composition.⁴⁵

Though both the precise dating and the authorship of this text, as with most contemporary devotional writings, remain open to question, one can draw certain inferences based on the various images. This text, or one much like it, must have been in circulation around the middle of the thirteenth century; the related images all first appear between 1255 and 1265. And, as I have suggested earlier, the author is likely to have been a Franciscan.⁴⁶ Gertrude Coor has already observed that the Mounting seems to have been popularized by the Franciscans;⁴⁷ she notes that at least one Italian representation of the

theme was commissioned by the Poor Clares,⁴⁸ and the Melk manuscript, too, has been at least loosely associated with the Order.⁴⁹ The emergence of the scene at San Sebastiano, home of a group of Poor Clares, and the presence of the closely related fresco in the mother church of the Order at Assisi tend to confirm the Franciscan interest in the subject. And the Bolognese manuscript, which contains references to the Poverello, may have been destined for Ascoli Piceno, a city founded by St. Francis himself;⁵⁰ the recurrence of closely related images in two other monuments from Ascoli⁵¹ indicates an unusually keen interest in these themes in this Franciscan city.

A further indication of the probable Franciscan origins of the text lies in the new importance given the Stripping of Christ, and particularly the notion of the Virgin's attempt to shield her son's nudity.⁵² As noted earlier, the Franciscan Order, viewing its founder as a "second Christ," rarely overlooked opportunities to point out similarities in the lives of the two men,⁵³ and among the episodes of St. Francis' life, was an incident which suggested the Despoliation of Christ. In renouncing his father's worldly goods, Francis dramatically discarded his clothing, at which point the Bishop of Assisi hastened to cover the nude young man with his cope.⁵⁴ The prominence accorded the Stripping, and especially the new motif of the Virgin covering her son, may have originated, then, in a Franciscan desire to emphasize the Poverello's Christ-like nature.⁵⁵ The fresco of the Despoliation at Assisi, in fact, appears just opposite the scene of Francis' renunciation of his father.⁵⁶

Conclusions

To recapitulate: Coppo seems to have derived his composition in large part from the Byzantine Preparation for the Crucifixion, presumably from a version of the late twelfth or early thirteenth century. But he transformed this Byzantine image into a Western scene, the Mounting of the Cross, under the influence of concepts reflected in a text like that of Pseudo-Bede. The images which are so closely associated with Coppo's--the Bolognese manuscript, the San Sebastiano fresco, and the German manuscript--probably reflect the same sort of text: thence the emphasis of the Despoliation of Christ, on the Virgin's dramatic participation, and on Christ's bleeding torso, which characterize the various compositions. The likelihood of a Franciscan inspiration for both the text and this group of images therefore seems very strong.⁵⁷

Thus Coppo's Mounting presents us with still another instance in which Tuscan artists at mid-century created a newly graphic representation of Christ's sufferings during the Passion. The fascination of these artists with new iconographic types, their boldness in depicting aspects of the Passion hitherto avoided, and their ingenuity in drawing from both Byzantine and Western tradition⁵⁸ all attest to a remarkably fluid artistic climate which fostered experimentation and diversity rather than the rigid conservatism described by so many scholars.⁵⁹ It is interesting that this innovative spirit seems to apply especially to the Passion scenes preceding the Crucifixion; in the two which follow, the Deposition and the Entombment, a somewhat different situation prevails, as will be seen in the next chapters.

NOTES

¹Though the bloodstains are not visible in photographs, they can be seen on the panel itself.

²Weitzmann, "Byzantine Miniature and Icon Painting," *Studies*, p. 297. On the Preparation for the Crucifixion see Millet, pp. 381-85; he cites many examples but none earlier than the late twelfth century. The term "Preparation for the Crucifixion" seems somewhat inappropriate--the Byzantine type does not, at least initially, even show preparations such as the affixing of the cross (see figs. 90, 91, 92), but only the silent confrontation between Christ and the high priest. Nevertheless the literature almost invariably refers to the scene in this way; a more satisfactory substitute does not seem to exist. On the development of the scene, consult, in addition to Millet, Sandberg-Vavalà, *Croce dipinta*, pp. 278-79, 281-82; Olga Kosloff, "Die Ikonographie der Passionsmomente zwischen der Kreuztragung und dem Tode Christi," *Het Gildeboek* (1934), 1-25; Wilk, *passim*; and Schiller, II, 82-83. The Preparation and the Mounting of the Cross have been examined recently in some detail by Miklos Boskovits, "Un'opera probabile di Giovanni di Bartolomeo Cristiani e l'iconografia della 'Preparazione alla Crocifissione,'" *Acta Historiae Artium*, 2 (1965), 69-94. Boskovits, however, alludes only briefly to Coppo and concentrates on the development of the scene in the late Dugento and early Trecento. For briefer accounts of the Mounting, see Millet, pp. 385-88; Sandberg-Vavalà, *Croce dipinta*, pp. 280-81; Kosloff, pp. 51-54; Réau, II, pt. 2, 474-75; Coor, "Coppo," p. 18, n. 21; Schiller, II, 87-88; and Boskovits, "Kreuzbesteigung," *Lexikon der Christlichen Ikonographie* (1970).

³The priest, often identifiable by his long, cowled robes and white beard, frequently serves as director of the proceedings in Byzantine Passion scenes. This role may be traced at least to the sixth century. At Sant'Apollinare Nuovo, in the scene of the Arrest of Christ (fig. 13), a bearded priest lurks behind the crowd of soldiers and gestures, as if signalling them to make their move; later, in the cycle, the same figure escorts Christ to the Sanhedrin (Schiller, II, fig. 185) and to Calvary, where he gestures ahead (Schiller, II, fig. 281). In the Rossano Gospels, priests similarly serve as escorts, and here they are clearly identified with Annas and Caiaphas, as Loerke has demonstrated (pp. 171-95). In fol. 8r. (Schiller, II, fig. 202) they lead Christ to Pilate; the elder of the two turns to Christ and gestures forward, much like the stock figure in the Way to Calvary who recurs in the Preparation for the Crucifixion (fig. 91).

⁴Millet implies a connection between the two scenes: describing the Preparation, he writes: "On représente [Christ] encore sur le chemin de croix" (p. 381). In some Passion cycles (as in the Sinai icon, Monreale and the San Gimignano Cross) the Preparation replaces the Way to Calvary--a further indication of the close association of the two compositions.

Schiller attempts to trace the Preparation to Byzantine psalter illumination (II, 82-83). Such an origin undoubtedly applies to the Nailing of Christ to the Cross (Psalm 22:16: "they pierced my hands and my feet") but does not explain the Preparation for the Crucifixion, a theme found in no Byzantine psalter known to me. Its derivation from the Way to Calvary narrative seems far more likely.

⁵ Frazer, p. 197.

⁶ For both figures in the Way to Calvary see the fresco in Sant' Urbano alla Caffarella, Millet, fig. 392.

⁷ Stephan Beissel, Vaticanische Miniaturen (Freiburg in Breisgau, 1893), pp. 36-37. For a recent study of this manuscript, see Luba Eleen, "Acts Illustration in Italy and Byzantium," Dumbarton Oaks Papers, 31 (1977), 255-78.

⁸ Weitzmann, "Narrative and Liturgical Gospel Illustrations," Studies, pp. 247-70. In discussing the Sinai icon, Weitzmann suggests that it was derived from a lectionary ("Byzantine Miniature and Icon Painting," Studies, p. 296); he has stressed elsewhere that it was particularly characteristic of lectionary illustration to transform narrative compositions into more hieratic images ("Narrative and Liturgical Gospel Illustrations," Studies, p. 263). On the application of Weitzmann's principle in earlier Passion scenes, see Chapter I, note 52, and Chapter III, note 23.

⁹ See the illustrations of Psalm 22, 16 in, for instance, the Theodore Psalter (fol. 23; Millet, fig. 424) or the Barberini Psalter (fol. 33r.; Schiller, II, pl. 299). The motif had migrated to the Crucifixion as early as the ninth century; in a fresco in St. Maximin, Trier (Schiller, II, fig. 347), two children nail Christ's feet to the cross. The stake-driver may have appeared in the Preparation before the late twelfth century: in an English manuscript executed some decades earlier (fig. 95; see note 14) figures also erect the cross, although they use a large peg rather than a mallet to secure it in the mound.

¹⁰ On Ivron 5 see Lasareff, Storia, p. 333, n. 29. The ladder also appears in Vat. lat. 39 (fig. 92), which is approximately contemporary with Ivron 5. The motif makes at least one earlier appearance, in the Hortus Deliciarum (see note 12), but there it does not lean against the cross; instead, one of the executioners carries it. It continues into the fourteenth century, as in the fresco at Geraki (Millet, fig. 409).

¹¹ It is possible that this figure was positioned on the patibulum in Coppo's presumed Byzantine model--the fourteenth-century fresco at Mateica (Millet, fig. 411) similarly places the kneeling figure on the horizontal beam.

¹² Straub and Keller, III, pl. 38.

¹³ The Mounting of the Cross does occur in Paleologan painting, primarily in Serbia; for examples see Millet-Frolow, III, pl. 92(2); IV, pl. 12(25), pl. 87(162); V. R. Petkovic, La peinture serbe du Moyen Âge (Beograd, 1930), I, pl. 101B, and others listed in Petkovic, II, vi. But in these--the earliest dating c. 1295--the depiction of Christ shares virtually nothing with Coppo's panel and recalls, instead, a formula first seen in the work of Guido da Siena (fig. 96). Further, there is reason to believe that these Serbian images reflect an Italian model. One early example, a fresco at Prilep (Millet-Frolow, III, pl. 25[1]), is remarkably close to Guido's composition in a number of details, even in the Italian chapel-de-fer worn by one soldier. For other examples of Western iconography in Paleologan painting see Demus, "Style of the Kariye Djami," p. 136 and Buchthal, "Towards a History of Paleologan Illumination," in The Place of Book Illumination in Byzantine Art (Princeton, 1975), p. 146. The Western model which Buchthal discusses appears in Byzantine painting just before and just after 1300--exactly the moment when the Mounting of the Cross first emerges in the East.

¹⁴ London, Victoria and Albert Museum, Ms. 661. The precise origin is not certain; Kauffmann, p. 94, ascribes it to Canterbury.

¹⁵ Ibid., p. 32.

¹⁶ Ibid., fig. 169.

¹⁷ As Pächt observes (p. 92), the representation of Christ as stripped to the waist occurs earlier in an Ottonian manuscript, the Gospel book from St. Peter (my fig. 80). He suggests that the image was transposed from the Flagellation.

¹⁸ The three are found in the Bible Moralisée in Paris (Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 11560, fol. 169v.; Laborde, III, pl. 393), a Book of Hours attributed to W. de Brailes in London (British Museum, Add. 49999, fol. 43v.; Sir George Warner, Descriptive Catalogue of Illuminated Manuscripts in the Library of C. W. Dyson Perrins [Oxford, 1920], II, pl. Vc) and a stained-glass window in the Cathedral of Bourges (Kosloff, fig. 5). In the two manuscripts, Christ is clad only in a loincloth.

¹⁹ Another detail found in Coppo's composition but not in Byzantine images is the hammer and nails brandished by the executioners. The Arma Christi appear in earlier Western versions of the Preparation, such as the relief on the twelfth-century baptismal font at Aakirkeby, Denmark (Roosval, fig. 214). The motif also occurs in mid-

Dugento depictions of the Way to Calvary, such as that in Uffizi No. 434 (fig. 77); for a discussion of this detail, see Chapter IV, pp. 138-39.

²⁰For his ingenious solution to the long-disputed problem of dating the altarpiece see Stubblebine, Guido, p. 39.

²¹The gesture, once interpreted as an attempt to shield Christ's nudity (Xavier Barbier de Montault, "L'influence de Saint Bonaventura sur l'art italien à propos des peintures d'Utrecht et de Florence," Revue de l'art chrétien, 39 [1889], 84-85) has been correctly described by Stubblebine, Guido, p. 50. But the original interpretation is not entirely without foundation, as will be seen below, note 45.

²²For examples see Boskovits, "Opera probabile," fig. 1, figs. 12-15, fig. 19. Despite the popularity of this image, the original Byzantine composition, the Preparation for the Crucifixion, does not disappear entirely from Italian painting. One example survives in a late thirteenth-century Venetian diptych now on Mt. Athos (Treasures of Athos, II, 286, fig. 441).

²³A slightly different moment is occasionally depicted, in which Christ has climbed the ladder and now stands on the suppedaneum as executioners nail Him to the cross. Examples include a fresco in Santa Maria di Donnaregina, Naples (Schiller, II, fig. 320) and a fresco by the shop of Fra Angelico in San Marco, cell 36 (Luciano Berté et al., Angelico a San Marco [Rome, 1965], fig. 131).

²⁴The implicit conservatism of the Guidesque image recalls the analogous development of the Betrayal (see Chapter I, p. 46): there, too, the later Dugento reverted to an earlier iconographic type which tempered the mid-century emphasis on Christ's hopeless plight. It seems plausible, as Pickering implies, that the Guidesque composition actually appeared much earlier (p. 276); unfortunately he does not cite specific examples. Regardless of the specific point at which the type first appeared, the notion of Christ's victorious and voluntary ascent has a venerable history in Western religious thought; see the reference to St. Ambrose in note 38. It seems likely that Christ's ascent of the cross was also associated with other triumphant ascents. Thus St. Bernard, describing Christ's Crucifixion, alludes to an Old Testament episode, Elisha's ascension to heaven ("Sed ubi crucifixerunt eum? In Calvariae loco. Ad hanc calvitem Elisaeus ascendebat. . . Ascende, calve, ascende, calve" [II Kings 2, 23]--P.L., CLXXXIV, 752; for a similar allusion by St. Bernard, cf. P.L., CLXXXII, 932: "Ascendit itaque crucem calvus noster"); in fact one detail, children mocking Christ, which appears in later representations of the Mounting indisputably derives from this Old Testament prefiguration (see

Schiller, II, 87). Finally, it is possible that the Mounting of the Cross was associated with Christ's own ascension to heaven; Christ's springing stance in the Guidesque image is virtually identical to His posture in Early Christian and early medieval images of the Ascension (Volbach, fig. 73; Adolph Goldschmidt, Die Elfenbeinskulpturen aus der Zeit der Karolingischen und Sachischen Kaiser [1914; rpt. Berlin, 1969], II, figs. 27, 31, 65, 138).

²⁵This Passion scene, apparently all but unknown in Byzantine art, has received relatively little attention in iconographic literature. See Sandberg-Vavalà, Croce dipinta, pp. 279-80; Sandberg-Vavalà, "Italo-Byzantine Panels at Bologna," Art in America, 17 (Feb., 1929), 74; Kosloff, pp. 45-51; Réau, II, pt. 2, 471-72; Boskovits, "Opera probabile," p. 27; Schiller, II, 83; Sticca, "Officium Passionis," pp. 173-74.

²⁶For bibliography on the San Gimignano Cross see Chapter I, note 13.

²⁷"Una decorazione murale del duecento toscano in un monastero laziale," Antichità Viva, 10 (March-April, 1971), 3-9.

²⁸Ibid., p. 6.

²⁹Warner, Descriptive Catalogue, I, 139-40.

³⁰Stiftsbibliothek, Ms. 1833. Hanns Swarzenski, Die lateinischen Illuminierten Handschriften des XIII. Jahrhunderts (Berlin, 1936), I, 163-64. Swarzenski notes that this composition has "keine Parallelen nordlich der Alpen von dem XIV. Jahrh." (I, 163, n. 6)--a point corroborated by the Princeton Index.

³¹Swarzenski, Die lateinischen Handschriften, I, 76 dates it shortly after 1255.

³²This explicit fusion of the Stripping and the Mounting also occurs in Italy, in a late thirteenth-century fresco in San Vittore, Ascoli Piceno (Millet, fig. 414). It is interesting that the Bolognese manuscript may have been destined for Ascoli: the calendar contains a reference to St. Emygdus, the first bishop and patron saint of that city (Warner, Descriptive Catalogue, I, 139). For a related work also associated with Ascoli, see note 33.

³³For the Assisi fresco see Jurgen Schultze, "Zur Kunst des 'Franciskusmeisters,'" Wallraf-Richartz-Jahrbuch, 25 (1963), 109-50. Here, as in the Bolognese manuscript, Christ Himself removes His garment at the foot of the cross. Now, however, the ladder has been

added as well as a group of bearded, cowled Jews to the right. A later version, also North Umbrian, appears in an altar dossal in Perugia (Garrison, Index, No. 422). Here the absence of the ladder, the presence of the soldiers to the left and the motif of the nails recall the Bolognese manuscript, while the group of Jews to the right are almost identical to those of Assisi. A late variation, in which the Virgin stands to the right, appears in Emilia and Romagna: in a Bolognese panel still in Bologna attributed to the Faenza Master (Index, No. 664), a Romagnole panel formerly in the collection of M. Griggs by the Master of Forlì (Index, No. 674), and a Bolognese panel in the Vatican (Boskovits, "Opera probabile," fig. 18). Finally, the theme also appears in the early fourteenth-century Franciscan Book of Hours in the Boston Public Library (fol. 38v.), which was probably destined for Ascoli Piceno (Sticca, "Officium Passionis," pp. 145-46; pl. XVII); here the composition most closely resembles that in the Bolognese manuscript, which has also been associated with that Marchigian city.

³⁴ On Giunta see Campini's recent monograph. Prehn has already stressed the style of the Assisi frescoes "si basa su quella pisana" ("Decorazione murale," p. 6).

³⁵ On Guido's debt to Coppo see Stubblebine, Guido, pp. 5-6.

³⁶ Some scholars maintain that Christ mounted His own cross (Henri Leclercq, "Instruments de la Passion," Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie [1926]). Others, however, state that He was attached to the cross before it was elevated (Rohault de Fleury, p. 39).

³⁷ Donehoo, p. 350.

³⁸ Migne, P.L., XV, 1527, 107. Ambrose also states (P.L., XV, 1527, 109), that Christ ascended the cross "quasi currum triumphator," as a victor ascends a triumphal chariot--a phrase that anticipates Guido's bounding hero far more than Coppo's reluctant prisoner. Another early reference to the theme appears in the ritual of the Adoratio Crucis, known in Jerusalem from the fourth century and in the West from the seventh or eighth, which states: "Domine Ihesu Christi, adoro te in cruce ascendentem . . ." (Young, I, 117-19).

³⁹ The relevant passage reads: "With your mind's eye, see some thrusting the cross into the earth, others equipped with nails and hammers, others with the ladder and other instruments, others giving orders about what is to be done and stripping Him. . . . [The Mother] is saddened and shamed beyond measure when she sees Him entirely nude . . . [she] hurries and approaches the Son, embraces Him, and girds Him with the veil from her head. . . . The Son was torn furiously

from her hands at the foot of the cross. . . . Two ladders are set in place, one behind the right arm, the other at the left arm, which the evil-doers ascend holding nails and hammers. Another ladder is placed in front, reaching to the place where the feet are to be affixed. . . . The Lord Jesus is compelled to ascend the cross by this small ladder; without rebellion or contradiction He humbly does what they require" (Ragusa and Green, p. 333).

⁴⁰Jameson, II, 129, was the first to relate representations of the Mounting to Pseudo-Bonaventura's account. Louis Gillet, Histoire artistique des ordres mendiants (Paris, 1912), p. 122, and Bréhier, pp. 336-37, cite the Meditations as the sole source of the scene. Millet, p. 387, Kosloff, p. 52, and Schiller, II, 98, agree that it is at least one source. Only Boskovits, "Opera probabile," pp. 79-80, observes the problem in reconciling the probable date of the text with the earliest appearance of the new image, and instead attempts to trace both to Passion plays.

⁴¹On the date see Chapter I, note 109.

⁴²P.L., CLIX, 289: "O te, Jesu salus omnium! . . . Ascendit arborem crucis. . ." Earlier in the same text, however, a different version of this moment is described: the Virgin tells Anselm that Christ was nailed to the cross before it was erected (CLIX, 281). Pseudo-Bonaventura, too, offers the reader both accounts (see note 56).

⁴³P.L., XCIV, 561-68. The passage (XCIV, 565) reads in Latin:

Cogita quod usque ad locum Calvariae populus clamans venit, et tunc ibi videntibus omnibus, expoliatur suis vestibus, et cum maximo dolore, quia vestis interior adhaerebat ei fortiter propter sanguinem flagellationes, et tunc apparuit corpus ejus, tam eleganter figuratum, totum cruentatum. O quantus dolor tibi erat, mater sanctissima, cum aspiceres ista. Deinde parata cruce dicunt ei, Ascende, Jesu, ascende. O quam libenter ascendit, o quanto amore ista omnia pro nobis sustinuit, o quanta patientia, o quanta mansuetudo! . . . Sic totus nudus in cruce elevatur et extenditur. Sed mater ejus amantissima velum suum, quod habebat in capite suo, posuit circa eum plena anxietate, et involvit locum verecundium. . . . Sic crudeliter elevatur, extenditur, et toto sacro corpore distenditur et dissipatur.

⁴⁴Boskovits' study, the only recent thorough analysis of the scene, ignores Pseudo-Bede's text entirely. The only writers to cite it in connection with these Italian compositions are Kosloff (p. 53) and Coor ("Coppo," p. 18, n. 21). Neither, however, notes the

specific parallels between this text and the works with which it corresponds most closely.

⁴⁵Thus Barbier de Montault's interpretation of the Virgin's gesture (see note 21) has some textual justification: Guido evidently derived his composition from a model based on a text like that of Pseudo-Bede, in which the Virgin "posuit [velum suum] circa eum." The meaning of her gesture is far more explicit in an early Trecento work, the fresco of Santa Maria di Donnaregina (cited in note 23) in which she actually holds a cloth before Christ.

⁴⁶See Chapter I, note 109.

⁴⁷"Coppo," p. 18, n. 21.

⁴⁸Ibid. This example is a panel in Wellesley, Massachusetts, Wellesley College Museum, which juxtaposes the Mounting of the Cross with the Funeral of St. Clare. For an illustration see Stubblebine, Guido, fig. 59.

⁴⁹Swarzenski (Die lateinischen Handschriften, I, 76) points out that a psalter produced in the same workshop at the same time includes St. Francis and St. Clare in its representation of the Crucifixion. This connection was noted by Coor, "Coppo," p. 18, n. 21.

⁵⁰St. Francis is depicted on the first page of the Bible, in a medallion opposite St. Dominic; further, he is mentioned in the calendar (Warner, Descriptive Catalogue, I, 139). Warner assumes that the manuscript was commissioned by the Dominican Order because the calendar mentions a number of Dominican feast days; it is interesting, however, that this curious coexistence of references to the two rival orders is characteristic of the Marches, especially of Ascoli: see Sticca, "Officium Passionis," p. 146. On the founding of Ascoli by St. Francis see Moorman, p. 157.

⁵¹The fresco in San Vittore (see note 32) and the Franciscan manuscript published by Sticca (see note 33). The Despoliation in the Bolognese manuscript may reflect a prototype by Giunta (see p. 183) whose connections with the Minorites are well-known (Campini, pp. 140-44).

⁵²This detail also appears in the account of Pseudo-Anselm, c. 1240 (P.L., CLXIX, 281) and is taken up by Pseudo-Bonaventura; it does not appear, however, in earlier devotional texts known to me (e.g. Pseudo-Bernard, P.L., CLXXXII, 932; Pseudo-Bernard [Ogerius of Trino?], P.L., CLXXXII, 1135).

⁵³See Chapter III, pp. 111-12, and note 67; Chapter IV, p. 150.

⁵⁴Thomas of Celano, First Life of St. Francis, VI, 15; Omnibus, p. 241.

⁵⁵St. Bonaventura's biography of St. Francis relates the episode specifically with Christ's nudity on the cross: "And so the servant of the most high King was left stripped of all that belonged to him, that he might follow the Lord whom he loved, who hung naked on the cross" (Legenda major, II, 4; Omnibus, p. 643). In his Defense of the Mendicants St. Bonaventura links Christ's nudity more generally to the Franciscan ideal of poverty: he refers repeatedly to the stripping of Christ and to His nakedness on the cross (Works, IV, 148, 185, 209, 272).

⁵⁶Schultz, p. 113. Despite the evidence of a strong Franciscan interest in the Despoliation of Christ and the Mounting of the Cross, two points should be made clear. First, these were not exclusively Franciscan themes, as Guido da Siena's use of the Mounting in a Dominican altarpiece indicates. It is interesting, however, that Guido both eliminates the Stripping and clearly alters the action of the Virgin, thus expunging any possible reference to the Poverello.

Second, it should be noted that the notion of Christ ascending the cross was not universally accepted by Franciscan theologians. Thus St. Bonaventura, in The Tree of Life, asserts that Christ was nailed to the cross before it was erected (Works, I, 123)--a concept also found in Pseudo-Anselm (P.L., CLIX, 281). Like Pseudo-Anselm (see note 42), Pseudo-Bonaventura obligingly presents both versions: after describing the Mounting, he continues: "Or, if you prefer..." and recounts the second version (Ragusa and Green, p. 334).

⁵⁷The surprisingly human conception of Christ in Coppo's panel--in contrast to the vigorously heroic Savior in Guido's version--may also be related to a phenomenon of the 1250's, when the San Gimignano Cross was probably executed. Joachim of Fiore had prophesied that the world would end in 1260, and many in Tuscany viewed the approach of the fateful year with increasing dread (see Marjorie Reeves, The Influence of Prophecy in the Later Middle Ages: A Study in Joachimism [Oxford, 1969], pp. 48-55). Jacoponi da Todi, describing the mood of the 1250's writes:

Up now to arms, O man, the hour is come
The last chance of escaping from this death
Never a death so hard has ever been,
Never a death so strong shall be again;
A mighty terror grips the very saints,
When they behold the fate that lies before
Only a fool would find no need to fear.

(Quoted by Helene Nolthentius, Duecento: The Late Middle Ages in Italy [New York, 1968], p. 125, in reference to the Joachimist terrors of mid-century). The last three lines of the poem in particular can almost be read as a sort of poetic analogue to Coppo's representation of Christ: He, too, seems gripped by a "mighty terror" as He "behold(s) the fate that lies before."

⁵⁸ This reliance on both Eastern and Western ideas and compositions characterizes only the Mocking, the Way to Calvary and the Mounting of the Cross; the Betrayal and the Trial reflected only Byzantine models.

⁵⁹ See the Introduction, p. 3, note 9.

CHAPTER VI

THE DEPOSITION

After Christ's death on the cross, one of His disciples, Joseph of Arimathaea, asked Pilate for permission to remove and bury the body. Pilate granted the request; Joseph then took the body from the cross, wrapped it in a linen shroud, and buried it in his own tomb.

Only in this concise fashion do the synoptic Gospels (Matthew 27:57-59; Mark 15:42-46; Luke 23:50-53) describe the Deposition or the Descent from the Cross.¹ A few additional details about Joseph are provided by individual Evangelists. Matthew describes him as wealthy, Mark refers to him as "a respected member of the council" and Luke adds that he had dissented from the Sanhedrin in its condemnation of Christ. John's account (John 19:38-42) concurs with the synoptics, but adds that a second member of the Sanhedrin, Nicodemus,² accompanied Joseph and brought myrrh and aloes to anoint the body.

Despite the brevity of the scriptural accounts, the Descent from the Cross is regularly represented on the painted crosses; indeed, only the Entombment appears more often.³ The Descent is omitted on only three crosses with a full narrative program,⁴ and in each case the omission is understandable in terms of the program as a whole. Two are Pisan works, Pisa No. 15 and the San Frediano Cross, which curtail their Passion cycles in favor of expanded Resurrection cycles.⁵ The third, Coppo's San Gimignano Cross, is unique in its emphasis on themes of Christ's suffering at the hands of His captors; it includes but a single scene in which His ordeal has ended.⁶

In the first representation of the Descent, on Gullielmus' Sarzana Cross (fig. 101), the action is well underway. The elder of the two disciples, presumably Joseph, climbs gingerly down a steep ladder propped against the cross and supports the inert body on his shoulders.⁷ The younger, presumably Nicodemus, kneels below and grips a pair of pliers to extract the nail from Christ's feet. Despite their status as members of the Sanhedrin, both wear the short tunics of the populace.

Also present are several figures not mentioned by the Gospel narrative; most prominent are the Virgin and St. John. The Virgin caresses Christ's right arm and kisses His hand; John, standing opposite, extends a large cloth to receive Christ's body and presses His left hand to his cheek. Three holy women stand behind each, gesturing in grief. Above the cross, to the left, an angel hovers; to the right, the discs of the sun and moon denote Christ's sovereignty over the universe.⁸

The Descent next appears several decades later, on Uffizi No. 432 (fig. 102). This Florentine composition shares several iconographic points with its Lucchese predecessor. Again both of Christ's hands have been detached, and Nicodemus kneels to extract the nails from Christ's feet; again the Virgin, John and holy women--though only two here--join the two disciples. And a half-length angel still mourns above. But this painter clearly worked from a different model from that available to Gullielmus: for the most part, the iconography has changed considerably. Some differences appear in details--the sun and moon have disappeared, the two disciples now wear the long robes of

the upper classes instead of workaday tunics. Perhaps more important is the new position of Christ's body: it no longer slumps, inert, but seems rigid in death, bending stiffly at the hip and knee. But the most significant changes are in the actions and attitudes of the figures. Most striking is the role of the Virgin: she no longer kisses Christ's hand but now tenderly cradles His head against her breast. In fact she now seems to share with Joseph the task of supporting Christ's body: with her left hand she holds her son under the arm, while with her right she encircles His neck.

Joseph's stance and action, too, have been altered. Instead of bearing Christ's weight on his shoulders and grasping His upper torso, he now grips Him around the waist and at the knee. Further, the ladder which he descended earlier has been banished, and he now springs forward energetically, one foot well off the ground. Oddly, he seems to rush toward John, who now plays only a secondary role: the apostle no longer caresses Christ's hand but stands unobtrusively to one side. He raises his left hand to his cheek in a traditional expression of grief, and extends the right toward Joseph. The two men exchange poignant glances, as if united in their sorrow. This suggestion of an emotional bond linking the mourners is echoed by the holy women flanking John and Mary. Each gently touches the arm of the figure next to her, a subtle but very human gesture of compassion. The Master of Cross 432 thus reveals another aspect of his insight into human emotion: the power of his impassioned Betrayal is equalled by this sensitive evocation of intimacy in a moment of common loss.

Still another iconographic type appears on the next extant cross, the Florentine cross in Rosano. This example (fig. 103) shares certain features with one or both earlier versions. As in both earlier Depositions, Nicodemus dutifully extracts a nail from Christ's foot. As in Gulliellmus' panel, John takes a more active part, again caressing Christ's hand. The Rosano Master follows Gulliellmus in restoring another detail, Joseph's ladder. He imitates his fellow Florentine, however, in the enlarged role of the Virgin, who again supports Christ's body, and in details such as the long robes worn by both disciples and the direction in which Christ's body falls.

Despite these echoes of the earlier compositions, several points distinguish the Rosano version from its predecessors. This example differs in part in its iconographic compactness: gone are the mourning women, the angels and the celestial bodies overhead. More pertinent are the changes in the positions and actions of the major figures. Joseph stands on a ladder, as in the Sarzana Cross, but his position has changed. His placement is more frontal than profile, and he does not climb down but pauses on the ladder, resting his foot--heel down, sole exposed--on a rung, and gazing out at the viewer. The resulting change is significant: now the emphasis on the physical removal of the body has slackened; the lull in the action, and Joseph's gaze, create a contemplative mood, a sort of tableau. The method of supporting Christ's body is also new: Joseph supported its weight on his shoulders in Gulliellmus' panel, but now he lowers the body, encircling it at the waist. Another change affects the position of Christ's body: it neither slumps nor bends abruptly, but curves in a graceful arc.

The most significant innovation, however, is the new action of the Virgin. Now she bends tenderly over her dead son, takes His arm at the elbow and presses her right cheek to His in a gesture which vividly conveys her love and sense of loss.

An extremely similar composition occurs somewhat later, on Pisa No. 20⁹ (fig. 104). The gestures and positions of all the major figures are, in fact, almost identical. Only minor points separate the two iconographically. The Pisan composition is less stringently terse, and holy women and delicate, three-quarter length angels now join the mourners. Christ's body here falls to the left, and the placement of the Virgin and John is therefore reversed. And Joseph's position has been altered: he now seems to shift his weight on the ladder so that Christ's body rests across his knees. The incipient contrapposto of this stance reinforces the suggestion of a pause in the action; the hushed, contemplative mood is heightened. Contributing even more strongly to the pathos of the scene is this artist's linear mastery: his gracefully attenuated figures and sensitivity to contour create an air of elegiac, almost rarefied sorrow. Despite the iconographic kinship, then, this ethereal scene seems only distantly related to the earnest and earth-bound Rosano version.

The iconography of the Descent changes for a fourth time in the next version to be examined, that on Uffizi No. 434 (fig. 105). Here the composition in toto is new, but component parts can be traced to earlier depictions of the scene. In several respects this Florentine master seems to depend on the Lucchese type first seen in Gullielmus' cross--perhaps not unexpectedly, given his stylistic debt to Lucca.¹⁰

Thus, as in the Sarzana Descent, both the Virgin and John embrace Christ's hands; three holy women flank the Virgin; Nicodemus and Joseph wear short tunics, and Joseph is clearly depicted as the elder of the two. Joseph's position, however, seems comparable to his stance on the Rosano Cross and Pisa No. 20: here, as there, he supports Christ's weight by encircling His waist instead of carrying the body on his shoulders. But this Joseph does not look out at the viewer, but simply gazes down on the head of the Savior. One detail, though minor, does seem to have been introduced by this painter: the architectural background which now appears. A wall now rises almost to the middle of the picture plane, and a gabled tower stands to the right.

This general formula recurs in another mid-century version of the theme, by the Castellare Master (fig. 106).¹¹ Again both the Virgin and John press Christ's hands to their cheeks, and again Joseph lowers Christ's body, holding Him securely around the waist. Nicodemus continues to perform his unvarying task of removing the nails from Christ's feet. But the Castellare Master has departed in some ways from the Florentine type. First, his composition is considerably simpler than the Florentine version: not only the architectural background but all the holy women have been eliminated. And he restores the dignified long robes of the two disciples. But two peculiarities distinguish this composition from all its predecessors. One is the curious stance of Joseph, who now appears to be seated. Though the ladder which must have initially supported him has flaked away, it seems clear that he did not stand on it: his knees are bent, and his legs dangle in front of him. Almost as bizarre is a change in the

representation of Nicodemus: he now holds not only the usual pincers but a hammer as well. This he raises high above his head, in a position that suggests an incongruous attempt to drive in a nail rather than to extract one.

Both these idiosyncracies appear in the Descent on the contemporary Pisan cross by Enrico di Tedice (fig. 107). Joseph again appears to have taken a seat on an upper rung of the ladder, while Nicodemus, below, wields both hammer and pincers, seeming simultaneously engaged in inserting and removing the nail. But Enrico's iconographic oddities do not stop here. Another visual non sequitur occurs in the fact that Nicodemus has detached only one of Christ's hands: the left remains fixed to the cross. Nevertheless the disciple kneels to extract the nails from Christ's feet, in defiance of the usual sequence of events.¹² Still another aberration from iconographic custom reverses the relative ages of Joseph and Nicodemus: now Joseph is the younger, with dark hair and beard, while Nicodemus' hair and beard are white. A final change from the Castellare version is less unaccountable: Enrico embellishes his composition with an architectural background similar to that in the Descent on Cross 434. Now, though, a second tower appears to the left, and swags drape over the cornice of each.

A final iconographic type appears in the last two painted crosses to be considered: Salerno's Pistoia Cross (fig. 108) and the closely related Santa Marta Cross (fig. 109). Salerno's image, like its Florentine predecessor on Cross No. 434, appears to be rather eclectic, drawing from several traditions. He follows the painter of

Cross No. 434 in the relative ages of Joseph and Nicodemus--in fact Nicodemus here is boyishly clean-shaven--and in the architectural background which flanks his scene, though here a pair of towers appears. But if these details seem consistent with Florentine tradition, Salerno reveals a cosmopolitan sophistication by adding one apparently Pisan detail: Nicodemus here uses both hammer and pincers. The most interesting feature of Salerno's composition, however, is the role now played by the Virgin. Now, as in the earliest Florentine cross, No. 432, she actually helps Joseph support her son. She cradles His head, one hand around His neck, and presses His cheek to hers in a gesture of supreme tenderness. Because the cross is unusually tall here, soaring well over the heads of the mourners, the Virgin avails herself of a convenient prop to reach her son: she stands on a footstool. Her old position at Christ's right hand has been taken by one of the holy women, presumably Mary Magdalen,¹³ who lovingly embraces it, mirroring the gesture of St. John. A final participant in the drama is a second holy woman, standing behind the first, who wipes away her tears with her veil.

Salerno's composition is duplicated, with only tiny alterations, by the Santa Marta Master (fig. 109). The only changes which this consistently uninventive painter has made involve a minor modification in the position of the Virgin--she has moved slightly to the left--the elimination of Nicodemus' hammer, and the shifting of a holy woman, with the addition of a second, to the right side of the composition. Otherwise this painter almost exactly reproduces the Pistoia Descent, even down to the genre detail of the Virgin's footstool.

Thus this scene conforms only partially to the patterns which characterized the iconography of the earlier scenes. First, the twelfth-century crosses demonstrate inventiveness and experimentation rather than the general uniformity of type seen before: even before the Dugento, three different formulae appear, each of which progressively heightens the theme's dramatic power. Mid-Dugento painters do reject the types used earlier and develop a new variation, as they did in each previous example, but now the usual line of development swerves abruptly. In the physical separation which it imposes on the Virgin and Christ, the new image seems to dilute rather than to intensify the emotional impact of the scene, retreating from the poignant intimacy of the Rosano/Pisa 20 type. Only in the final quarter of the century does a new formulation emerge which conveys the suffering of Christ and His loved ones with maximum intensity.

These deviations from the usual pattern of development clearly require examination. Why does the Descent not conform to the pattern which each earlier Passion scene followed? Is the pattern not valid--skewed, perhaps, by random accidents of survival? Or is the problem in the Descent itself: is it somehow inherently different from the earlier themes?

It seems probable that this subject is, in fact, different in a fundamental respect from the themes examined thus far. Both the Deposition and the Entombment--which, as will be seen, also deviates to an extent from the usual pattern--are obviously concerned with Christ not in life but in death, after the Crucifixion. Because they represent Christ's body after His sacrificial death, these themes may well have

sacramental overtones which are less obviously appropriate to the pre-Crucifixion Passion themes examined in this study, and it may be the Eucharistic implications of these representations which set them apart. Recent analyses have, in fact, stressed the sacramental nature of several images representing Christ's crucified Body. Most thorough, and most relevant to the subject of this chapter, is the dissertation of Elizabeth Parker.¹⁴ She points out the essential Eucharistic meaning of the Deposition--it represents "the receiving of Christ's crucified body"¹⁵--and traces its longstanding association with the liturgy of the Mass, first with the Offertory and later with the Consecration of the Host.¹⁶ It seems to me that the liturgical and sacramental meaning of the theme must be considered in examining the depiction of the scene on painted crosses--which were themselves altarpieces, liturgical objects--and that it at least partially accounts for the nature of its iconographic evolution. Before examining the iconography of the theme on painted crosses, however, it is necessary to review its development in the East.

The Deposition in Byzantine Art

The iconographic development of this theme in the East is understood fairly well today;¹⁷ this analysis will summarize the prevailing conception of the theme's evolution and attempt to clarify aspects of the process which may have been neglected. In general two facets of the scene's development are commonly distinguished. One is an increasing exploration of the emotional content of the scene, a progressive emphasis on the actual participation of the mourners in the Deposition

and on their expression of grief. Thus at first Mary is merely a passive observer who does not touch her son (as in an ivory in Constance, fig. 110, or the Homilies of Gregory in Paris, fol. 30v., fig. 111);¹⁸ next she caresses Christ's hand (Parma 5, fol. 90v., fig. 112; the Gelat Gospel Book, fol. 217, fig. 113; an ivory at Dumbarton Oaks, fig. 114)¹⁹ and finally she helps Joseph support His body, bringing her face close to His in a poignant embrace (an ivory in Hannover, fig. 115; Morgan 639, fol. 280r., fig. 116; frescoes at Nerezi, Mileševa and Staro Nagoričina, figs. 117-19).²⁰ A similar progression can be traced for the other mourners: both John and the holy women appear first as relatively detached onlookers (fig. 110); then they weep openly (fig. 113); finally they move close to Christ and caress His body (figs. 118 and 119).²¹

It has been frequently observed that this gradual amplification of the mourners' grief, especially the Virgin's, probably reflects apocryphal accounts and the writings of theologians like the ninth-century sermonist George of Nicomedia and the tenth-century author Simeon Metaphrastes.²² It is less often noted that the pose which the Virgin finally assumes, embracing Christ so that their faces are pressed cheek-to-cheek (figs. 117-19), may also have its origins in such writings. The Acta Pilati, George and Simeon all describe the Virgin, as she holds Christ in death, recalling His babyhood and the tender caresses she gave her infant son.²³ The cheek-to-cheek embrace of Mary and Christ in the Deposition--which also appears in the Entombment--is directly comparable to the embrace between mother and child in the Eleousa, such as the well-known Virgin of Vladimir.²⁴ A final

parallel between the iconography of the Descent and literary descriptions of the subject also seems to have been overlooked. It is only in the final phases of the theme's development (frescoes at Mileševa, fig. 118, and Staro Nagoričina, fig. 119) that the holy women also participate in the Descent, holding and embracing Christ's hand. Their active involvement finds an interesting textual equivalent in the late twelfth-century Christos Paschon. Not only is this account the first known to me which records the women's presence, but it emphasizes their role in the Deposition. Thus, after Christ's body has been detached from the cross, Joseph calls to Mary: "You . . . can extend your arms with the other young women to receive the body of your Son, to weep as you wished and to touch His limbs." Apparently the women did not respond immediately, for Joseph becomes impatient and calls again: "Extend your arms! You and the other women!"²⁵ The Christos Paschon thus leaves no doubt that the holy women assisted at the Deposition and "touched [Christ's] limbs;" the image which emerges not long after it was written (figs. 118 and 119) may have arisen in response to this popular text.

The second aspect of this theme's iconographic development, which is also routinely noted by scholars, is a gradual progression in the phase of the action depicted. In works which presumably reflect the earliest stages, the Descent is just beginning: both of Christ's hands are affixed to the cross and His torso is rigid, approximating the shape of the cross itself (fig. 110). Then one hand is freed (figs. 111-13), and next both hands, as Nicodemus turns his attention to Christ's feet (fig. 114); as Christ's hands are detached, His body

begins to sag. Finally, Joseph shifts his position; he no longer receives Christ's body from below (figs. 110-14) but stands above and behind Him (figs. 115-19).

This change in the position and action of Joseph--often noted only cursorily, if at all, in iconographic analyses²⁶--seems to me to deserve further attention. First, it may be possible to determine the formal source of this development. The change, which seems to emerge in the tenth century,²⁷ may well reflect a classical model, the Carrying of the Body of Patroclus (fig. 120).²⁸ There, Achilles stands above the body of his friend and grasps it in much the same way that Joseph supports the body of Christ in the later versions of the Descent; too, the position of Patroclus' arm, bent at the elbow, anticipates the position of Christ's arm in many later examples of the New Testament theme (figs. 116 and 117).²⁹ The possible reliance on such a source in working out the new iconography of the Descent is, of course, fully characteristic of the Macedonian Renaissance, which on other occasions as well turned to mythological models in representing Christian themes.³⁰ It is, further, not surprising that this specific episode of classical mythology might be associated by Byzantine iconographers with the Deposition, for it, too, represents the rescue of the body of a loved one who had died at the hands of the enemy.

But more important than the formal source of the new image are the implications which the change has for the composition as a whole. Initially Joseph is represented as a figure in action: a dynamic character, shown in profile, striding energetically towards Christ (figs. 110 and 111, and especially figs. 112-14). The physical nature

of his task is underlined, in many examples, by his garb: he wears the short tunic of the worker, revealing the straining musculature of his calves and implicitly reminding the viewer that this strenuous job requires the brawn of a laborer (figs. 110-13). But when Joseph's position shifts, the tenor of the composition changes. The action seems to halt: Joseph is shown not in motion but at rest, effortlessly presenting Christ's body to the viewer. His position, like Achilles', is frontal rather than profile, and often he gazes out at the viewer as if to convey further this sense of a pause in the action (figs. 116 and 117).³¹ Not coincidentally, he almost always sheds the commoner's short tunic and wears instead the distinguished long robes of the upper classes (figs. 115-19):³² the straining laborer is transformed into a cool and contemplative aristocrat. One advantage of Joseph's new position is the fact that it allows the Virgin greater proximity to her son;³³ and in many later versions, Joseph stands on a stool or ladder as if to remove himself further from the intimacy of the Virgin's embrace (figs. 116-19).³⁴ But more fundamental, I think, is the transformation of the entire scene: with the narrative elements, the representation of action, now suppressed, the Descent becomes instead a sort of tableau, a timeless presentation of an eternal reality.³⁵

The Deposition in Italian Art

Pre-Dugento Crosses

The Sarzana Cross

With this overview of the development of the Decent in Byzantium, it now becomes possible to return to the scene on Tuscan crosses and to

examine their iconographic antecedents. Like his Way to Calvary earlier, Gulliellmus' treatment of this theme (fig. 101) reveals him to be a progressive artist, an innovator who was among the first to experiment with new types. In fact he seems to have been among the first Tuscan artists to depict the theme at all. Though the Descent was represented in both Byzantium and Northern Europe from the late ninth century,³⁶ it does not, apparently, occur in Italy until the eleventh century.³⁷ Even after its initial occurrence, it is found only infrequently; many of the fuller Passion cycles, such as those in Sant'Urbano alla Caffarella, Sant'Angelo in Formis, and the Gospel Book of Matilda, exclude it.³⁸

The very inclusion of the theme in the Sarzana Cross thus tends to strengthen its position as a progressive work,³⁹ and the specific iconography of Gulliellmus' scene is similarly forward-looking: the type will recur repeatedly in later Italian art.⁴⁰ The principle elements of the composition are Byzantine. Thus Joseph appears here as the industrious, tunic-clad laborer familiar from earlier Byzantine versions of the Descent; his position is profile rather than frontal, and his stance is one of action rather than repose. Indeed, in Gulliellmus' panel the sense of his physical struggle is even more pronounced than in Eastern compositions: this struggling figure reaches up to grasp Christ by the shoulder rather than simply encircling his waist, and bends his neck back sharply as he trudges down the ladder. The implications of an early phase of the Descent felt in the depiction of Joseph as a laborer are reinforced by the relative restraint of the Virgin, who here limits her expression of grief to caressing

Christ's hand. John, however, has progressed beyond the detached reserve seen in earlier Byzantine Descents, and here echoes the Virgin's gesture of kissing Christ's hand. The exact composition--Joseph placed below Christ, the Virgin and John holding or kissing Christ's extended hands--does occur in the East, but is extremely unusual; among the few extant examples are miniatures in two Gospel books, the Armenian Gospels of Melitene, c. 1057 (fol. 9v.; fig. 121) and an early thirteenth-century Syrian manuscript in London (fol. 159v.; fig. 122).⁴¹

But despite the ultimate debt to such sources, points of divergence should also be noted. The most obvious is the omission of the ladder in the Eastern versions. Its absence there is hardly surprising, since it generally occurs only when Joseph has shifted his position and stands above and behind Christ.⁴² And when it does appear, it only generically resembles Gullielmus'. The Byzantine ladder (cf. figs. 110, 116-19) is almost without exception little more than a step-ladder, which often reaches only to the suppedaneum of the cross and never crosses the patibulum.⁴³ Gullielmus, by contrast, provides Joseph with a far more impressive piece of equipment: his ladder soars well above the patibulum and seems to extend beyond the confines of the composition. Still another difference concerns the large cloth held by St. John in Gullielmus' panel. Though John's hands are sometimes veiled in Eastern Depositions, in no case known to me does he use a separate cloth to receive Christ's body.

Thus, if our Lucchese painter is ultimately indebted to a relative of the Melitene Deposition, he has nevertheless departed from

this prototype by adding two new motifs: the ladder, strikingly non-Byzantine in its elongation, and the large cloth held by St. John, and by the straining, almost contorted position of Joseph. Both the Byzantine and the non-Byzantine aspects of Gulliellmus' panel may make their Italian debut here; neither the general Byzantine composition nor the points which separate the Lucchese from the two Eastern versions recur in earlier surviving Italian representations.⁴⁴ But Gulliellmus neither introduced the general type to the West nor created the modifications which distinguish his panel from the Armenian and Syrian examples. The basic type is extremely uncommon in earlier Northern works, but not unknown; it occurs in a manuscript from the monastery of St. Peter, Salzburg, written in the second half of the eleventh century by Custos Perhtolt (fol. 29v.; fig. 123).⁴⁵ There, much as in the Sarzana Descent, the two symmetrically posed mourners hold or kiss Christ's hands as Joseph grips His body from below.

Though this manuscript may be the only Northern work pre-dating Gulliellmus' which so closely duplicates the Eastern prototype, it has a precedent of sorts in a manuscript produced earlier (c. 1000-1050) at the same monastery, the Salzburg Gospels (Morgan 781).⁴⁶ Though the Descent in the earlier Gospel book (fol. 222v.; fig. 124) differs in the placement and action of Mary and John--they do not embrace Christ's outstretched hands, but stand far below--the symmetry both of their stances and of Christ's extended arms clearly anticipates Custos Perhtolt's version (fig. 123) and derives ultimately from an Eastern model like that reflected in the Armenian manuscript (fig. 121). The Descent in the Salzburg Gospels, however, differs from each of these

in important respects. First, Joseph does not stand on the ground but trudges up a ladder. Not only is this surprising in itself--Joseph is almost never represented climbing a ladder in Northern works of this period⁴⁷--but the ladder is not the truncated Byzantine version but the imposing construction later adopted by Gullielmus, which soars dramatically above the cross-bar and out of the composition. Further, as in Gullielmus' panel, John extends a large cloth to receive Christ's body; in the manuscript Mary does the same. Nor does the resemblance between the Salzburgian and Lucchese versions end here: in the Northern work, just as in the later Italian panel, Joseph reaches up to grip Christ by the shoulder instead of the waist, and cranes his neck back sharply to gaze at Christ's face.

Thus the two Salzburgian manuscripts, considered together, explain virtually every significant feature of Gullielmus' composition.⁴⁸ The fact that none of these features--the symmetry of the Virgin and John, the representation of Joseph climbing the ladder, the exact type of ladder and stance of Joseph, the cloth held by John--occurs commonly elsewhere,⁴⁹ even individually, makes their union in these manuscripts and in the Sarzana panel all the more compelling; Gullielmus must have derived his composition, either directly or indirectly, from a Salzburgian prototype. It seems appropriate to note that the Deposition is not the first of Gullielmus' Passion scenes to reflect such a source--the Way to Calvary also found its closest antecedent in the Salzburg Gospels--nor is it the last: his Entombment will also be shown to derive from such a model.⁵⁰

Finally, possible reasons for the representation of the Descent should be briefly examined. As noted above, the theme occurs only exceptionally in earlier Italian Passion cycles. Its presence here may have a special significance: it may be related to an important Lucchese form of devotion, the cult of the Holy Blood. This cult arose from the discovery, in the well-known Volto Sancto, of a vial of Christ's blood; as Clairece Black has shown, the characteristic "chalice base" of Lucchese painted crosses--of which the Sarzana Cross is the earliest--bears witness to the cult, and probably alludes to the chalice which was placed at the foot of the Volto Sancto itself.⁵¹ The Deposition is linked to this cult, and to the Volto Sancto, in two ways. First, it was apparently believed by the Lucchese that Christ's blood was collected by the Virgin at the Deposition or shortly after, as a poem ascribed to St. Anselm of Lucca (d. 1086) shows:

Nicodemus and Joseph . . .
 Withdrew the nails from [Christ's] hands and feet,
 And carried His body from the patibulum.

Now the bereaved mother, approaching quickly,
 Devoted to her son, cleaned His blood-stained wounds
 Imprinting blessed kisses on His wounds
 Collected the sacred specimen of His blood.⁵²

Second, it was believed that the Volto Sancto itself was executed by Nicodemus, the same disciple who participated in the Descent.⁵³ The representation of this theme, then, not only alludes to the occasion on which the Holy Blood was gathered, but also shows the important role of the man credited with creating the Volto Sancto.⁵⁴ Finally, it is interesting to note that the Deposition will continue to play an especially prominent role in Lucchese art. It appears in Nicola

Pisano's tympanum at San Martino, Lucca--one of the few instances in Italian art of such a subject in a tympanum⁵⁵--and occurs four times in Berlinghieresque painting (see figs. 125, 126 and 127).⁵⁶ In four of these five works, the iconography closely corresponds to that on the Sarzana Cross, with the Virgin and John reverently caressing the hands of Christ; in one (fig. 126), even the cloth held by John recurs.

Uffizi No. 432

The iconographic roots of the Deposition on Cross No. 432 (fig. 102) can equally readily be determined. As Millet recognized, the general type is Byzantine. He compared the Florentine panel with the tenth-century ivory in Hannover (fig. 115) and the relationship is undeniable: the essential characteristics of the type--the angularity of Christ's body, bending sharply at the knee, the position of Joseph, supporting Christ at the waist, and the tender embrace of the Virgin, cradling her son's head in her breast--occur in each.⁵⁷ Even such details as John's precise gestures, the unusual long tunic worn by Nicodemus,⁵⁸ the elongated titulus of the cross and the diamond pattern of the border (to the right in the Uffizi panel) are remarkably similar. Even closer in some respects is an ivory plaque in Leningrad (Hermitage Museum; fig. 128).⁵⁹ This version especially resembles our panel in the bust-length angels who hover, one wing raised, on either side of the titulus, in Joseph's glance, directed at John instead of Christ, as in the Hannover ivory, and in the exact gesture of the Virgin, who encircles Christ's neck. Even the animated bounding stance of Joseph in the Florentine work has an analogue of sorts on the ivory:

in the figure of Nicodemus, who raises one foot off the ground in his struggle to free Christ's feet.

However, our painter cannot be credited with introducing this type to the West. Much the same type occurs in a manuscript from Weingarten, c. 1120-30,⁶⁰ and a few decades later, the type appears in north Italy, in a Gospel book in Nonatola (fol. 45r.; fig. 129).⁶¹ The Italian manuscript especially resembles the version in the painted cross. The gesture of the Virgin and the position of Christ's dangling hand are almost identical in the two works, and even the diamond-studded border, though smaller and denser in pattern, appears here as well. Stylistically, too, our Florentine painter shares much with the illuminator; compare especially the facial type of the Virgin in each work.

Thus the painter of Uffizi No. 432 relied on a Byzantine composition, but may well have taken it from an Italian intermediary, for the type had been transmitted earlier to Italy. But despite his debt to other sources, he seems to have added characteristic details of his own. One is the strong sense of communication between Joseph and John, who bend toward each other and exchange glances. This intense tête-à-tête was probably inspired by a model like the Leningrad ivory (fig. 128), in which Joseph similarly inclines toward John. There, however, John does not return Joseph's glance but buries his head in his hands, lost in sorrow; the implications of a shared thought or emotion are absent.

Another aspect of the composition reinforces this sense of solidarity among the mourners: the gestures of the holy women, each

lightly touching the arm of the figure next to her. This subtle but moving detail, suggesting an attempt to provide both physical and emotional support, occurs in no other version known to me;⁶² it may well originate here.

Our painter, then, was among the first Italian artists, if not the first, to experiment with this iconographic type, and, characteristically, he carries its power still further: in these universally recognizable gestures and glances, he conveys the anguish of the Descent in unmistakably human terms. This poignant representation of human sorrow is most uncharacteristic of twelfth-century Tuscany in general; as we have seen, the Passion scenes in the pre-Dugento crosses generally displayed little interest in the suffering of Christ or the Virgin. But if analogous representations of Christ's Passion are rare, contemporary religious texts demonstrate that the proto-Franciscan sentiment of the Florentine panel is not an isolated phenomenon. One text, probably written in the late twelfth century, is especially relevant to the Uffizi Deposition: the Liber de Passione Domini attributed to Ogier of Trino (d. 1214).⁶³ This writer, not far in time or place from our Florentine painter, envisioned the Deposition in much the same way:

[Joseph and Nicodemus] go together to the spot where Christ was crucified, taking with them instruments to remove the nails. The Virgin, seeing them, rises from a swoon and ministers to her Son as best she can. As one of the two men draws out the nails and the other sustains the body of Christ in his arms, she stands, her arms raised to receive the hand of her Son and draws His head to her breast. She embraces and kisses His dead body in an excess of grief and, when it is laid on the earth, bathes it with her tears. . . .

This passage is remarkably close to the Florentine panel in a number of respects. It, too, is one of the first works of its kind to explore the Deposition in human terms; in fact it is the only Western text until the Meditations of Pseudo-Bonaventura almost a century later which emphasizes the Virgin's grief to such a degree.⁶⁴ Not only is the tenor of the passage comparable to our panel; specific details also link text and image. In both Mary's action is identical: she "draws His head to her breast." No other Western account known to me describes this intimate embrace; even in Pseudo-Bonaventura's description she kisses His hand but does not explicitly cradle His head.⁶⁵ Another point, also apparently unique to Ogier's tract, similarly recalls the Uffizi panel: the reference to Mary's swoon. This reference, which to my knowledge recurs in no other account, Eastern or Western,⁶⁶ finds a visual counterpart in the gesture of the holy woman touching Mary's arm. Precisely this gesture appears occasionally in the Crucifixion, and is described by Millet and Sandberg-Vavalà as a rudimentary depiction of the Virgin's swoon.⁶⁷

Thus the correspondence between the Uffizi panel and the near-contemporaneous tract by Ogier is close indeed. Both text and image attest to the changing attitudes toward Christ's Passion and death which were emerging in Italy in the late twelfth century; both are harbingers of a new spiritual climate which would, a few decades later, produce the revolutionary ideas of St. Francis.

The Rosano Cross and Pisa No. 20

The next stage in the evolution of the Descent is provided by two very similar compositions, on the Rosano Cross (fig. 103) and on

Pisa No. 20 (fig. 104). Though the Rosano Master was almost certainly Florentine, his ties with Pisa were many,⁶⁸ and it will be seen that he may have derived this composition from Pisa as well.

At this point in the development of the scene, the expression of grief has become still more explicit: the Virgin presses her cheek directly against her son, and John again caresses Christ's limp hand. Again we recognize the general type as Byzantine: the Tuscan panels strongly recall one of the last phases in the development of the Byzantine Descent, a phase which emerged only shortly before its appearance on the crosses. The Eastern example which most closely approximates the Tuscan compositions is also the earliest surviving instance of the type: the fresco at Nerezi (fig. 117).⁶⁹ There, as in most later versions of the theme, Joseph stands on a ladder and supports Christ from above; now, though, the Virgin embraces her son in the Eleousa-like caress, and John is actively involved in the Descent, tenderly holding Christ's hand. Even more suggestive of a close iconographic link between all three works is the sense of arrested motion conveyed by Joseph's stance. At Nerezi Joseph not only gazes directly at the viewer, thus signalling a pause in the actions, but he seems to shift his weight on the ladder; in a manner reminiscent of classical contrapposto, he rests his left foot on one rung so that the sole is exposed. Much the same sense of contemplative stasis occurs in the Tuscan works. In Pisa No. 20 the direct gaze and general suggestion of a weight-shift, though not the tilted foot, can be seen, and in the Rosano panel even the exposed sole appears.

Despite these similarities, the compositions are not identical. The most significant variation occurs in the Virgin's stance. At Nerezi her head is below Christ's, so that when she presses her cheek to His their features are aligned, side by side. In the two crosses, however, she bends over her son, so that this relationship is transposed; the relative positions of their faces is inverted. This variation is extremely uncommon in Byzantine art, but prototypes do exist. An embryonic phase appears in the Morgan Lectionary (fig. 116) and the fully developed version is seen in the fifteenth-century Omophorion of St. Arsenius (fig. 130).⁷⁰ Closer in date to the Tuscan works is a fragmentary Descent at Kurbinovo (1191); though the poor condition of the fresco makes it difficult to be certain, this version appears to be the earliest example of the fully developed stage of this curious mutation.⁷¹

But if the two Tuscan versions of the Descent seem profoundly indebted to Byzantium, they were nevertheless not the first Western, or even the first Italian, artists to adopt this iconographic type. Most directly comparable to our examples are the bronze reliefs executed only a few decades earlier by Barisanus of Trani, at Trani (1175), Ravello (1179; fig. 151), and Monreale (1186).⁷² In these panels--all iconographically identical--the position of Joseph, lowering Christ's body, the arc of the body and especially the stance of the Virgin, bending over Christ so that the direction of their faces is reversed, appear almost exactly as they will in the Tuscan crosses. Barisanus' reliefs particularly resemble the Descent on Pisa No. 20 (fig. 104) in the hovering, three-quarter-length angels above the

cross, while the unusual reversal of the composition, with Christ's body falling to the right, recurs in the Rosano Cross (fig. 103).⁷³

Barisanus--whose debt to Byzantium is made even more explicit in the Greek inscription on the patibulum--thus provides an important antecedent for the composition used by the two Tuscans. The correspondence, to be sure, is not absolute. In his panels John does not caress Christ's hand, which merely dangles limply, and the sensation of arrested motion is not as strong: Joseph neither tilts his foot on the rung of the ladder nor gazes at the viewer. But these differences do not vitiate the strong kinship between the Tuscan compositions and Barisanus' reliefs. In fact Barisanus leads us to a possible specific link between the Tuscan painters and their ultimate Byzantine source. Though Barisanus produced one set of doors for Monreale (those of the north aisle), a second set--for the west portal--was executed by Bonannus of Pisa.⁷⁴ Conceivably it was through Bonannus that a work very close to Barisanus' composition--some conflation of it and the Descent at Nerezi--came to Tuscany.⁷⁵ Of course this Sicilian connection was hardly the only possible channel by which a Byzantine composition might be transmitted to central Italy; Pisa particularly had extensive ties with the Byzantine empire during the late twelfth century.⁷⁶ But the fact remains that Barisanus' compositions provide the closest precedents for the Tuscan versions, and tracing the trail from Pisa to the bronze doors of Monreale to Byzantium seems, if not irrefutable, at least an attractive possibility.

Mid-Dugento Crosses: The General Type

The Depositions on the last three crosses examined--Uffizi No. 432, the Rosano Cross and Pisa No. 20--thus suggested an early trend toward exploring the human dimension of the event, especially the profound suffering of Christ's mother. This burgeoning humanization is abruptly curtailed in the crosses which survive from the middle of the Dugento. In these works--Uffizi No. 434, the Castellare Cross, the San Martino Cross (figs. 105, 106, 107) and the Tolomei Cross⁷⁷--the Virgin no longer tenderly cradles her son in her arms. Instead, she seems to withdraw both physically and emotionally and merely kisses His hand; her gesture suggests reverence more than anguish. In all but the San Martino version, John echoes her gesture.⁷⁸ The painters of these crosses were not alone in their enthusiasm for this type; elsewhere in mid-century Tuscan painting it often recurs (figs. 125, 126, 127).⁷⁹

As noted earlier, the emotional detachment of these images is puzzling indeed. They seem retrogressive, almost anachronistic, in shunning the expressive effects usually so prominent at mid-century. One would expect, at this juncture, a further development of the pathos and poignancy of the earlier scenes. One finds instead an image of restrained and ritualistic gesture, of muted emotion--an image which invites not empathy or compassion as much as contemplation. The insistent symmetry and stasis of these compositions imbue them with the ceremonial, timeless air of a ritual; as Pächt has astutely described a related type, the Virgin and John "approach like worshippers."⁸⁰

Just as the formal and hieratic flavor of these scenes seems to be archaistic, the specific gestures of the protagonists also go back to much earlier works. The Virgin and John, caressing Christ's hands, can be traced as far as Guillielmus' Descent (fig. 101). But these works do not merely restate the Lucchese composition; instead, they heighten its ceremonial quality. In Gullielmus' scene, the solemn and ritualistic air conveyed by the Virgin and John was countered by the relative dynamism of Joseph, struggling with his burden as he carries it down the ladder. But in the mid-Dugento versions (figs. 105 and 106), his motion is halted: as in the Rosano Cross and Pisa No. 20 (figs. 103 and 104), he has been shifted to a more frontal position, holding Christ from above. Thus the movement ceases entirely; the scene becomes even less a description of action and even more an image of contemplation, in which Joseph presents the body of Christ to the viewer.

The mid-century image thus appears to be a sort of anachronism, reverting to and even intensifying the abstraction and sang-froid which prevailed much earlier. How is this apparent anomaly to be explained?

First it should be noted that the images seen in these crosses are not isolated curiosities; on the contrary, they conform to a widespread tendency, attested to by both visual and literary sources, to deemphasize the Virgin's grief during the Deposition and to represent her, instead, as the restrained and reverent figure seen in Uffizi No. 434 and the related works. In fact a closely related composition, in which the Virgin and John caress Christ's hands while Joseph supports the body from below, was well established in Tuscany by the mid-

thirteenth century; seen initially in the Sarzana Cross (fig. 101), it reemerges early in the Dugento and becomes extremely popular to Tuscany. It appears, for instance, in a pulpit in San Leonardo in Arcetri, Florence (fig. 132)⁸¹ and in the wood carvings which were found throughout central Italy (fig. 133);⁸² Nicola Pisano's pulpit in Lucca⁸³ simply restates this composition, though he infuses it with his characteristic power.

Thus the iconographic type seen in the mid-Dugento crosses already seems far less exceptional; on the contrary, it closely resembles this well-established type, modifying it only in shifting the position of Joseph. Further, an important text of this period describes the Descent in tones which seem almost the literary analogue of these images. In Pseudo-Anselm's Dialogus Beatae Mariae Anselmi de Passione Domine⁸⁴ the Virgin is tearless and silent throughout the Descent; the "excess of grief" which Ogier of Trino ascribed to Christ's mother does not threaten the composure of this stoic figure. Not only does Pseudo-Anselm's Virgin not weep during the Descent, but her only contact with her son is a simple embrace of His forearm, much like the images in contemporary Tuscan painting and sculpture.

The text states:

While Joseph was removing the body, I stood next to the cross, watching from below. I waited for the forearm to be released, so that I could touch it and kiss it, and I did so. And when He had been removed from the cross, they placed Him on the ground about three paces from the cross. And I, receiving His head, thrust it into my breast and began to weep, saying, "Alas! sweetest son. . ."85

It appears, then, that the early exploration of Mary's grief--seen both in works like the Uffizi, Rosano and Pisa Descents (figs. 102, 103, 104) and in written accounts like Ogier of Trino's--was

overshadowed early in the thirteenth century by a strong current which emphasized instead her unswerving self-control during the Deposition.⁸⁶ The explanation for this puzzling phenomenon, which seems diametrically opposed to the tendency seen in other Passion scenes to emphasize the humanity of the sacred figures, seems to lie in the essential nature of the Descent from the Cross. As stated above, Elizabeth Parker has convincingly demonstrated the close association of this theme with the liturgy of the Mass, more specifically with the Eucharist and still more specifically with the Consecration of the Host.⁸⁷ Though Parker treats the iconographic types which prevailed in the early and mid-Dugento only briefly,⁸⁸ they seem especially relevant to her thesis. The symmetry and axuality which distinguish these images invest them with a ceremonial air which seems especially appropriate to the timeless ritual of the liturgy. The mid-Dugento type, which shifts Joseph from below (figs. 132 and 133) to above (figs. 105, 106, 125, 126, 127) only heightens the strongly ritualistic flavor of the earlier version by eliminating the implicit motion of Joseph's stance. But in both the early and mid-century version, the outstretched arms of Christ, and the position of the Virgin and John holding or embracing them, may have intentionally Eucharistic connotations: in the configuration of these three central figures they bear a distinct resemblance to a large group of New Testament images of which the sacramental meaning is indisputable. Compare the Descent at Volterra (fig. 133) or on the Castellare Cross (fig. 106) with an Ottonian representation of a scene long associated with the Eucharist, the Miracle of the Loaves and Fishes (fig. 134).⁸⁹ Here Christ's

outstretched hands, the symmetrical positioning of the apostles and their exact gesture of pressing Christ's hands to their cheeks are directly comparable to the positions of Christ, the Virgin and St. John in the Tuscan versions of the Deposition. The kissing of Christ's hand often recurs in an inherently Eucharistic theme, the Communion of the Apostles, such as that in the ninth-century Pantocrator Psalter (fig.135).⁹⁰ Thus the gestures of the Virgin and John in Gullielmus' Descent suggest far more than an expression of grief; instead, together with Christ's outstretched hands, they call to mind a body of images intimately associated with the sacrament of the Eucharist.⁹¹

It would seem, then, that the sacramental connotations of the Descent, implicit for centuries, become in this iconographic type newly overt. That this explicitly Eucharistic type becomes dominant in the early thirteenth century seems to me no accident: at exactly this time a strong interest in the Eucharist emerges in Italy. This interest, in fact, centers on the Consecration of the Host during the Mass--exactly the point in the service with which the Descent was most closely linked.⁹² In 1215 the Fourth Lateran Council was convened by Pope Innocent III; paramount among the concerns of the Council was the resolution of controversies concerning the nature of the Eucharist.⁹³ These questions focused on the real presence of Christ on the altar and the moment at which the host becomes Christ's body and blood; the Council settled the matter by promulgating the doctrine of the Transubstantiation, according to which the bread and wine are transformed into the body and blood of Christ at the moment of the Consecration.

Though these questions originated with the theologians and high councils of the Church, they filtered down to the populace as a whole; the controversies sparked a general interest in the host and especially in the Consecration. Because of the widespread desire to witness the miracle of Transubstantiation, a change in the practice of the Mass occurred now: the host was elevated at the Consecration so that worshippers could adore the body of Christ.⁹⁴ Other developments similarly reflect this growing cult of the body of Christ; the displaying of the host in the monstrance, and the notion of ocular communion, in which simply gazing at the host was equated with receiving the sacrament, both arose during the first half of the thirteenth century.⁹⁵

This concern with Christ's presence in the consecrated host--which culminated with the establishment of the feast of Corpus Christi in 1264⁹⁶--affected much of Western Europe in the early thirteenth century; it seems to have been especially strong in Italy. Innocent's profound interest in the Eucharist was matched by that of St. Francis of Assisi, who enthusiastically supported the changes of Lateran IV.⁹⁷ Francis' devotion to the Eucharist, and particularly to the veneration of the host at the Elevation, comes through in his writings: "Every day He comes to us and lets us see Him in abjection, when He descends from the bosom of the Father into the hands of the priest at the altar. He shows Himself to us in this sacred bread. . . ." ⁹⁸ And not long after the Lateran Council, Franciscan ceremonials appear with explicit instructions on the elevation of the host.⁹⁹

It is this liturgical change, and the widespread devotion to the Corpus Christi which accompanied it, which seems to explain the image of the Descent which proliferated in Tuscany during the first half of the Dugento. That this scene, long intimately connected with the Consecration of the Host and still linked to the Eucharist in popular thought,¹⁰⁰ would be of special interest now seems readily understandable. And the specific iconographic type which appears almost exclusively now¹⁰¹ could not more vividly suggest the scene's liturgical significance. The arrested motion of the type, suggesting the timelessness of the Christian rite, the solemnity and reverence of the Virgin and John, above all the emphasis on the presentation of the body of Christ all perfectly embody the scene's relevance to the Mass: Joseph displays Christ's body for our veneration just as the priest displayed the host in the newly changed Elevation. That the Virgin is seen here as a participant in a ritual rather than as a bereaved mother now seems appropriate; as Frederick Hartt has commented in another context, the theme is "not maternal grief but grateful reverence in the presence of an unspeakable mystery."¹⁰² Thus the type of the Descent which appears in the early and mid-Dugento appears to be far more than an iconographic curiosity, a fluke which defies the general humanization of the period and returns to the emotional restraint of much earlier works. Rather, it is a timely and topical embodiment of a major development in the history of popular devotion, the cult of the Corpus Christi. Franciscan interest in the Blessed Sacrament only gave further impetus to the theme, and it comes as no surprise to discover the Descent represented in just this fashion on the Franciscan Oblate Diptych (fig. 126).¹⁰³

In fact, far from being retrogressive, this iconographic type, and the Eucharistic symbolism which gave rise to it, had a profound impact on later religious art. Fra Angelico, for instance, certainly knew an image much like one of the mid-century Descents (figs. 105 and 106), although he transformed it into an Entombment in his panel in Munich (Alte Pinakothek; fig. 135).¹⁰⁴ It is especially interesting to consider the relationship between the mid-century image and one of the most important devotional themes of the late Middle Ages, the Man of Sorrows. This subject, much favored in the fourteenth, fifteenth and even sixteenth centuries,¹⁰⁵ at times bears an astonishing resemblance to the mid-Dugento Deposition. Thus in the stone sculpture by Adolf Daucher in the Fugger chapel of St. Anne, Augsburg, 1512-18 (fig. 137),¹⁰⁶ an angel presents the body of Christ much as Joseph displayed it in the apron panel of Uffizi No. 434 (fig. 105), and the symmetrical gestures and positions of the Virgin and John similarly recall Tuscan Depositions. The resemblance is more than visual: Schiller stresses the Eucharistic meaning of the Man of Sorrows,¹⁰⁷ and associates it with the feast of the Corpus Christi¹⁰⁸--exactly the meaning which seems to inform the Tuscan Depositions. It is, finally, not surprising to discover that the Fugger chapel was dedicated in 1518 "to honor the tender Corpus Christi of our Lord Jesus Christ."¹⁰⁹

In summary, then, the Tuscan versions of the Deposition in the early and mid-Dugento seem to be far more than mere narrative scenes; they seem intimately connected with devotion to the Blessed Sacrament and the cult of the Corpus Christi. Gullielmus' iconographic type, with its implicit Eucharistic content, was revived in Tuscany at just

the time when this form of devotion was gaining momentum, in the years preceding and following the Lateran Council. The mid-century modification of the type simply conveys even more explicitly than before the sacramental meaning of the theme.¹¹⁰

But one final aspect of the mid-Dugento image must be stressed. Despite the intimate association of this image with a Western phenomenon, the cult of the Corpus Christi, mid-century artists clearly relied, at least to an extent, on Byzantine models in formulating the new type. The reliance on Byzantium is most obvious in the Florentine cross, Uffizi No. 434, and it is thus to this work that we must turn next.

Mid-Dugento Crosses: Their Debt to Byzantine Models

Uffizi No. 434

Though the iconographic type which appears on this cross and on the related mid-century versions (figs. 105, 125, 126, 127) is closely related to the earlier Dugento composition (figs. 132, 133), the change in the position of Joseph may well have arisen at the stimulus of Byzantine models.¹¹¹ The identical type, in which the Virgin and John caress Christ's hands but Joseph supports Christ from above, can also be found in Byzantine art; it may not be coincidental that most extant versions date from the thirteenth century. They include a book-cover in Venice, variously dated from the eleventh to the fourteenth century (fig. 138),¹¹² a thirteenth-century steatite in the Vatican (fig. 139)¹¹³ and a late thirteenth-century fresco at Prilep (fig. 140).¹¹⁴ In each the Descent appears very much as it does in Cross 434. Especially

close is the fresco at Prilep. Besides the exact gestures of the Virgin and John, each caressing the lifeless hands of Christ, the two share the position of Christ's body--particularly the placement of the legs, the feet, and the right arm, bent at the elbow--and the pose of Joseph, encircling Christ at the waist and gazing down sorrowfully. A number of common details, such as the Greek inscription on the patibulum and the high wall reaching the level of Christ's knees, underline the resemblance.

Yet the two scenes are clearly not identical. Thus the Italian painter adds a gabled tower on the far right, which may derive either from an earlier Italian model or from his actual Byzantine source.¹¹⁵ The motif was probably originally meant to signify Christ's tomb, though its meaning is not explicit here.¹¹⁶ And aspects in the representation of Joseph--his short tunic, his curious stance in which he straddles the ladder and suppedaneum--may reflect Italian, specifically Lucchese, precedents.¹¹⁷ But more significant than such minor points are the subtle compositional changes which effect the overall tone of the panel: the Tuscan painter seems to have intentionally modified his model in order to heighten its hieratic quality. Thus he suppresses narrative details like the animated gestures of the holy women; rather than according them a prominent place in the composition, as in the Serbian fresco, he compresses them into a single unobtrusive unit. Instead he emphasizes the Virgin, restoring her to the same scale and height as St. John and thus reinforcing the general symmetry of the composition. These changes accentuate the hushed, contemplative flavor of the panel--a quality hardly felt in the more expressive but

rather jumbled forms of the fresco.¹¹⁸ Our painter, then, seems clearly indebted to a Byzantine model, as he was in previously examined Passion themes, but he seems to have consciously altered his source to strengthen its timeless and ritualistic quality and thus its associations with a purely Western phenomenon, the cult of the Corpus Christi.

The Castellare Cross

The Castellare Master's Descent (fig. 106) generally follows the Florentine composition in the position of the Virgin and John. The only departures--besides the elimination of such non-essentials as the architectural background and the holy women--are relatively minor points. Christ's body is more rigid here, bending less sharply; this change may reflect the influence of the monumental wood carvings (e.g. fig. 133), in which the same sense of rigor mortis affects the body.

Another deviation is the addition of the great hammer prominently displayed by Nicodemus. This motif is ultimately Byzantine, but in most Byzantine examples in which it appears, such as the tenth-century ivory at Dumbarton Oaks (fig. 114), the pincers do not occur; instead, Nicodemus uses the hammer and a peg to loosen the nail before extracting it.¹¹⁹ This motif was transmitted very early to the West, where it sometimes appears just as it does in the Byzantine ivory;¹¹⁰ but other Western artists, perhaps misunderstanding the model, discard the peg and substitute the pincers. Thus in the late tenth-century Psalter of St. Bertin (fol. 119v.; fig. 141)¹²⁰ Nicodemus clutches both hammer and pincers. This unlikely combination appears to have

been especially favored in France,¹²² but it had migrated by the early thirteenth century to Italy; still legible in the Tressa Cross are the pincers and hammer held by Nicodemus.¹²³ It thus seems most likely that the Castellare Master derived the motif from an earlier Italian model, though it is not impossible that he knew a French version of the theme which included it.¹²⁴ Whatever his actual source, it should be noted that this detail, like so many introduced during the Dugento, continues in later Italian art; it recurs well into the Trecento.¹²⁵

A final detail, however, seems stubbornly resistant to explanation: Joseph's stance. In the Castellare Descent, he no longer stands on the ladder; rather, he appears to sit on one of its rungs. No visual or literary source known to me greatly clarifies this bizarre posture. One wonders, however, whether it might have originated with a misreading of the Descent on Pisa No. 20 (fig. 104). There, in contrast with the Lucchese and Florentine type (figs. 105, 125, 126, 127), Joseph's knees are bent, so that his stance suggests contrapposto. Could the Castellare Master have misunderstood the incipient contrapposto on Pisa No. 20 and translated it into a simple seated stance? Could what looks to modern eyes like a seated figure simply be a less gifted artist's rendition of the sophisticated stance on Pisa No. 20? In the absence of further evidence, this may be the only explanation. But perhaps one should not overlook a precedent of sorts: the Pisan *Exultet*¹²⁶ contains an equally odd variant, in which Nicodemus sits as he extracts the nail from Christ's feet.

The San Martino Cross

Enrico's composition (fig. 107) resembles the Castellare Master's in Joseph's peculiar position and the union of hammer and pincers, but in other respects this version of the Descent differs from most of its contemporaries. One point is the specific moment depicted: here Christ's left hand has not yet been freed from the cross. This type is ultimately Byzantine (see figs. 111, 112, 113), but in most Eastern versions Joseph stands below Christ instead of holding Him from above, presenting the body to the viewer as in Enrico's composition.¹²⁷ The combination--one hand attached, Joseph above Christ--does, however, occur in Byzantine art, though extremely rarely; one example appears in the bronze doors executed in Constantinople in 1070 for San Paolo fuori le mura in Rome (fig. 142).¹²⁸ This version further resembles Enrico's in the exact position of Christ: in both of these His right arm bends slightly at the elbow instead of being perfectly straight, as in Parma 5 and most others, and in both His hips sway gently to the right, softening the rigidity of the other versions of the type.

Enrico thus seems to have derived at least this much of his composition from a model which closely resembled the San Paolo door panel; because this unusual type appears only rarely, and in different guises, in Northern art, his specific source was probably Byzantine.¹²⁹ But the model which Enrico used was a version which had been brought up to date by the addition of the low wall and paired towers. This architectural ensemble, clearly related to the wall and single tower in the Uffizi No. 434 Descent (fig. 105), appears occasionally in Middle Byzantine art as a background for other subjects,¹³⁰ but does not

seem to occur in extant versions of the Descent until the early thirteenth century, when it appears in Ivron 5 (fol. 129v.; fig. 143).¹³¹ Unlike the painter of Ivron 5, however, Enrico drapes his towers with swags of cloth. Such swags are clearly of Byzantine parentage, and can be seen, for instance, in the Florence Gospel Book, fol. 56v. (fig. 144). There, however, the draped tower belongs to the adjacent scene, Christ before Pilate, and denotes the interior of Pilate's palace, for in Byzantine art swags were used as a sort of shorthand, a *synechdochal* indication of an architectural interior.¹³² Enrico's appropriation of the swag is thus a breach of logic, a suggestion that the Deposition has been transferred from Mount Calvary to an interior. Though this sort of misunderstanding is entirely characteristic of Enrico--especially in his Descent, such incongruities abound--his Byzantine source may have been close to the version in the Florence Gospel Book, where the swags have a logical function in the continuous narrative.¹³³

Two Byzantine versions of the Descent thus seem to lie behind Enrico's: that in the San Paolo door panel and that in the Florence Gospel Book. His source must have fused elements of the two; given the general similarities between these compositions, such a model is not difficult to envision.

But, not surprisingly, this unfailingly eclectic painter seems to have drawn from other sources as well: parts of his Descent cannot derive from Byzantium and must reflect Western models. One aspect which is clearly at variance with Byzantine practice is Nicodemus' action: though only one of Christ's hands has been detached from the

cross, he now kneels to free His feet. In the Byzantine Depositions which represent Christ with one hand free, Nicodemus invariably works at the other hand;¹³⁴ never does he release one hand and then turn to Christ's feet before detaching the second hand.¹³⁵

But in one work--to my knowledge unique in Byzantine art--this strict order is relaxed slightly: in an eleventh-century ivory in Munich (fig. 145),¹³⁶ Nicodemus is joined by an anonymous assistant and the two men simultaneously free Christ's left hand and feet. Despite the rarity of the type in Byzantium, it appears almost immediately in Germany, as a mid-eleventh-century wood relief in Berlin attests (fig. 146).¹³⁷ In fact, the Munich ivory itself may have inspired the Berlin relief and its numerous German progeny.¹³⁸

It must have been this iconographic type which spawned the variant favored by Enrico. Not long after the introduction of the Munich type to Northern Europe, it underwent a change: the recently recruited coworker disappears, leaving Nicodemus alone to free both Christ's feet and the still-attached left hand. That the resulting image defies the usual Byzantine sequence did not greatly affect its popularity; fairly frequently in Germany and France, and at least once in Italy, this misunderstood offshoot replaces more conventional types.¹³⁹ Though the geographic diffusion of this type precludes determining Enrico's exact source, he seems to have been the first Tuscan painter to adopt the type; at least occasionally, later Dugento painters followed his example.¹⁴⁰

A second idiosyncrasy of Enrico's panel similarly flouts Byzantine practice, and similarly stems from the West: the relative ages

of Joseph and Nicodemus. Enrico represents Joseph as a fairly youthful man with dark hair and beard, while Nicodemus' pure white hair suggests that he is the elder of the two. Byzantine art invariably depicted just the reverse: Joseph as a patriarchal type with white hair and beard, Nicodemus with dark hair and beard, sometimes even beardless.¹⁴¹ Though the Gospel texts do not justify this differentiation, they do make it clear that Joseph is the more important of the two, the initiator of the action. That Byzantine art, traditionally sensitive to hierarchical nuances, indicated Joseph's greater status by depicting him as the elder of the two is thus not surprising.

The notion of Joseph's figurative and literal seniority was certainly known in the West. Many Western versions of the Descent follow Byzantine custom in representing Joseph as the elder, and a thirteenth-century mystery play explicitly refers to it: a self-effacing Nicodemus defers to Joseph and cites Joseph's greater age as the reason for his deference.¹⁴² But Western artists, often less than scrupulous in observing Byzantine proprieties, frequently overlook the distinction between the two men; thus Ottonian manuscripts at times represent both disciples as beardless, at times accord them both a long white beard.¹⁴³ Still it is rare, even in the West, that the Byzantine differentiation is entirely reversed, and Joseph is clearly indicated as the younger of the two. Yet this curious reversal does occur. One of the first instances is found in a mid-eleventh-century North French psalter in Munich, the *Hastières Psalter* (fol. 17; fig. 147).¹⁴⁴ Though it spreads to Germany, it most typically appears in French and French-influenced works, and seems especially popular from the late twelfth

through the mid-thirteenth centuries.¹⁴⁵ Possibly, then, Enrico derived this unconventional detail from a French model--also a likely source for other aspects of the San Martino Cross, as we have seen.¹⁴⁶

The Pistoia and Santa Marta Crosses

A source can be identified far more readily for the final type of the Descent which appears on painted crosses. Salerno's composition (fig. 108) and the closely related Santa Marta Descent (fig. 109) reflect a new Byzantine model, specifically a type which had emerged in the East apparently only a few decades earlier. Perhaps the first surviving example is the fresco of c. 1230-35 at Mileševa (fig. 118). Despite the loss of the upper right portion of the fresco, it seems clear that it is a virtual twin of Salerno's composition. The curvature of Christ's body, the Virgin's embrace, the gesture of the Magdalen are all identical. Other aspects of the two are also extremely close: the second holy woman behind the Magdalen, gesturing in grief,¹⁴⁷ the position of Joseph's legs and of John's legs and torso. Even the slightly hunch-backed stance of Nicodemus and his placement, crowded unusually close to Christ's feet, are astonishingly similar.¹⁴⁸

Despite the striking similarities in these works, Salerno does not duplicate the Mileševa composition. He embellishes it with details that could well have been inspired by works in Pisa--the hammer and pincers, the architectural background.¹⁴⁹ But another embellishment, apparently unprecedented in earlier Italian painting, is Byzantine: the footstool which the Virgin has mounted in order to reach her son's face. Much the same sort of low stool had been used earlier in

Byzantine Depositions, but Joseph or Nicodemus usually occupied it.¹⁵⁰ But at times, though rarely, the Virgin too avails herself of this convenient object; one example occurs in an ivory in Hildesheim.¹⁵¹ It is not until the Paleologan period that the footstool becomes less exceptional; it appears fairly frequently in Serbian frescoes, for instance at Čučer¹⁵² and Staro Nagoričina (fig. 119). Thus it was presumably an early Paleologan model which influenced Salerno, probably a model similar to that which later inspired the fresco painter at Staro Nagoričina. Whatever Salerno's specific source, the general type seen in the Pistoia Cross plays a major role for the duration of the Dugento; almost every other version of the Descent from the last quarter of the century follows this type, and several even include the Virgin's footstool.¹⁵³

The last point which most concern us is the reason why this new type was so enthusiastically received in Italy, why it supplants the images popular at mid-century. Part of an explanation must lie in the self-evident fact that it restores prominence to the Virgin. The exploration of her sorrow clearly does not originate with the later Dugento; we have seen evidence of this concern, both visual and literary, almost a hundred years earlier. But its further development in the Descent seems to have been interrupted early in the thirteenth century by an even stronger current in popular devotion, the veneration of the Corpus Christi.

Though there is no reason to believe that the cult of the Corpus Christi waned, there is considerable evidence of the rapidly increasing interest in the Virgin during the second half of the century.

Franciscan writers clearly contributed to this Marian piety. St. Bonaventura wrote at length of the Virgin's "bitterest sorrow . . . how heavily did she grieve and how constantly weep for her son."¹⁵⁴ The laudesi--groups which arose under the aegis of the Franciscans--were increasingly active in the second half of the century, and in their performances the Virgin laments Christ's death with new intensity; indeed, in one lauda, John implores her to compose herself.¹⁵⁵ And the high emotional pitch of Pseudo-Bonaventura's Meditations--a Franciscan tract of the later thirteenth century--contrasts sharply with the restrained account of Pseudo-Anselm.¹⁵⁶

Other iconographic developments of the later Dugento form a visual corollary to these popular accounts. It is during this period that the Virgin swoons dramatically at the foot of the cross, abandoning the heroic self-control that prevailed for almost a thousand years.¹⁵⁷ And it is during this period that Guido da Siena envisioned Mary as the desperate mother struggling to wrest her son from the ladder which He would climb to His death (fig. 96).¹⁵⁸

Thus in this context the Tuscan interest in this Byzantine image, which dramatizes Mary's maternal grief, is readily understandable. Indeed it would be surprising not to find a visual expression of the mounting hyperdulia of the later thirteenth century. But in the new image one other figure plays an enlarged role in the drama, Mary Magdalen. She, too, was the object of considerable attention during the second half of the Dugento, as both literature and art testify. St. Bonaventura discusses her in some detail; he is especially eloquent on the theme of her love and grief: "set afire by the

divine flame, she burned with such a powerful desire, and suffered such a wound of such impatient love, that nothing but tears had any taste for her."¹⁵⁹ She figures even more prominently in the Meditations, where Pseudo-Bonaventura repeatedly echoes this theme: "she wept with much bitterness . . . her heart could hardly remain in her body for sorrow."¹⁶⁰ The Franciscan interest in the Magdalen--the penitential figure whose fervent love of Christ must have resembled the Poverello's--may explain her conspicuous place in Cimabue's fresco at Assisi, where she hurls her arms dramatically into the air.¹⁶¹ Further evidence of her popularity appears in the exactly contemporary hagiographic panel devoted to her, and in the frescoes depicting scenes from her life in Prato.¹⁶²

Thus, not only the Marian devotion of the later Dugento but also the newly kindled interest in the Magdalen¹⁶³ probably contributed to the ready response in Tuscany to the Mileševa type. In fact part of Pseudo-Bonaventura's description of the Deposition may specifically relate to the new image. Though Pseudo-Bonaventura dwells on the moment in which the Virgin kisses Christ's hand, he goes on to state that after the last nail was removed, "all receive[d] the body of the Lord."¹⁶⁴ Since the text had already mentioned the presence of John, Mary Magdalen and the other holy women in addition to the Virgin, it is not difficult to associate this line with Salerno's composition, in which all of these share with Joseph the honor of supporting Christ's body.

Finally, one should note the pertinence of one last detail to popular devotion in the later Dugento, the footstool on which Mary

stands. This motif may be more than a casual genre detail; it subtly alludes to the height of the cross and Mary's resulting difficulty in reaching her son. These closely related themes appear frequently in contemporary texts. Thus both Pseudo-Anselm and Pseudo-Bonaventura stress the size of the cross,¹⁶⁵ and in one lauda the Virgin tries to reach Christ but cannot, because the cross is so high; she then plaintively entreats it to bend down.¹⁶⁵ Thus Salerno's inclusion of the stool may have been prompted by more than a simple desire to duplicate his Byzantine model; the stool may well have reminded him and his contemporaries of these familiar sentiments, this leitmotif of popular devotion.

Conclusions

The Deposition in several respects follows the pattern of development which characterized the previously examined Passion scenes. Again the earlier crosses follow models which are ultimately Byzantine, but which had been introduced to the West before their appearance in Tuscany; in most cases the Tuscan painters seem to have relied on an earlier Western interpretation. Again versions from the mid and late Dugento (in this case especially those by Florentine artists, figs. 105 and 108) seem to result from direct knowledge of Byzantine sources, and the evidence suggests that their specific models were approximately contemporaneous works; the iconographic type adopted by Salerno seems to have been formulated only a few decades earlier. But again our painters' allegiance to Constantinople was not exclusive; especially in Pisa, demonstrably Western elements frequently intrude into an essentially Byzantine composition.

The analysis of the Deposition thus confirms the importance of Eastern models in the development of Dugento Passion iconography. But it is also clear that this development cannot be understood solely in terms of formal sources, whether Eastern or Western. In the case of the Deposition, each evolutionary stage during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries was ultimately dependent on a Byzantine prototype. But each seems to reflect a specific facet of Italian popular devotion. Thus Gulliellmus' Descent seems in the very fact of its depiction to be associated with the Lucchese Volto Sancto and with the cult of the Holy Blood. The type seen in the Rosano Cross and Pisa No. 20 recalls both the heightened emotion and the specific description of the Descent in the contemporary tract by Ogier of Trino. The images which dominate the first sixty or seventy years of the Dugento probably owe their popularity to the veneration of the Eucharist and the cult of the Corpus Christi. And the final formulation of the scene aptly expresses the growing importance of the Virgin and Mary Magdalen during the later Dugento.

Byzantine art, then, must be credited with providing the specific models of the Deposition which Tuscan painters adopted. But at least as important as the phenomenon of Byzantine inspiration are the reasons for the phenomenon, and the reasons must be sought in the context of contemporary Italian religiosity.

Finally, the analysis of the Deposition further exposes the misconceptions about the Dugento embodied in Longhi's reference to the period's "povertà iconografica."¹⁶⁷ Not only does a wide variety of types characterize the theme, but among them are several which would

have an impact on the art of the Trecento, Quattrocento and even Cinquecento. The relationship of Simone Martini's impassioned Descent to the late Dugento image has already been observed.¹⁶⁸ Pietro Lorenzetti's fresco in Assisi¹⁶⁹ also betrays a strong debt to an earlier type, but to that seen on Pisa No. 20 (fig. 104). As Hartt has pointed out, Botticelli's Pietà in Munich ultimately reflects the same type.¹⁷⁰ Even in Michelangelo one finds echoes of a composition popularized by the Dugento: Joseph's solemn presentation of Christ's body in the mid-century image (fig. 105) is a humble predecessor, in form and meaning, to Michelangelo's Florence Pietà.¹⁷¹

NOTES

¹The matter of terminology requires brief discussion. Réau (II, pt. 2, 518) distinguishes between the two terms, using "Descent" to describe the scene in which Christ's body is removed from the cross and reserving "Deposition" for a second episode, in which Christ's body is laid on the Stone of Unction. But few scholars have adopted Réau's distinction, and Elizabeth C. Parker, in her recently published dissertation (The Descent from the Cross: Its Relation to the Extra-Liturgical "Depositio" Drama, Outstanding Dissertations in the Fine Arts [New York, 1978]), explicitly rejects it (p. 1, n. 1), and uses the two interchangeably.

²John 19:39 refers to Nicodemus as "the man who had first visited Jesus by night." He alludes to an episode mentioned much earlier (John 3:1-19); there, Nicodemus is described as one of the Pharisees and a member of the Jewish Council.

³The Entombment appears on fourteen of the nineteen surviving crosses, the Deposition on thirteen.

⁴Three early Lucchese crosses--the Museo Civico, San Michele and Santa Giulia Crosses (Garrison, Index, Nos. 501, 504, 503)--exclude it, but each represents only two narrative scenes. Only indecipherable fragments of the scene survive of two other crosses--the Aretine Castiglione Fiorentino Cross and the Pisan Volterra Cross by the Castelfiorentino Cross Master (ibid., Nos. 513 and 529). No adequate photograph had been published of a third cross, the Tuscan work from the Tolomei Collection, Lucca (ibid., No. 517), and the Sienese cross by the Tressa Master (ibid., No. 527) is in such poor condition that only portions of its Deposition can be deciphered. The best photograph available can be found in Torriti, p. 18, fig. 2. Thus only nine of the crosses will be considered in detail; the iconography of the Descent on the Siena and Tolomei Crosses will be noted only briefly.

⁵Both Pisa No. 15 and the San Frediano Cross depict three scenes from the Resurrection cycle (Pisa No. 15: Christ on the Way to Emmaus and at Emmaus, Apparition of a Meal, Apparition before Closed Doors; San Frediano Cross: Resurrection, Apparition by the Sea of Galilee, Doubting Thomas). The emphasis on the Resurrection cycle seems to be characteristic of early Pisan crosses; no other extant cross includes as many as three scenes from this cycle, and the only crosses which represent two are also Pisan: Pisa No. 20 (Christ on the Way to Emmaus and at Emmaus; Doubting Thomas) and Pisa No. 9 (Noli Me

Tangere, Supper at Emmaus), an archaistic work which probably duplicates a much earlier cross (Coor, "Coppo," p. 19, n. 38). It is interesting that this emphasis is absent in the two twelfth-century crosses sometimes ascribed to Pisa--Uffizi No. 432 and the Rosano Cross, which contain only one scene from this cycle between them (the Way to Emmaus on the Rosano Cross). For other iconographic evidence against the attribution of these works to Pisa, see Chapter I, note 8.

⁶ Coppo represents only one scene which depicts Christ after His death on the cross, the Entombment. Each of the other crosses includes at least two and sometimes as many as four (Uffizi No. 434).

⁷ It is reasonable to assume purely on the basis of the Evangelists' accounts that the honor of holding Christ's body should fall to Joseph, whom all four Gospels credit with taking the initiative in the Descent, rather than Nicodemus, who is mentioned only by John and in a secondary role. But several of the earliest representations of the scene leave little ambiguity, and label the two disciples; Joseph invariably supports Christ's body. Examples include the Descent in the Homilies of Gregory of Nazianzus, c. 867-86 (fig. 111; see note 18; here, the inscriptions appear on the adjacent scene, the Bearing of the Body), and that in a contemporary French work, a Gospel book in Angers (Bibliothèque Municipale, Ms. 24; Schiller, II, fig. 545). In the Paris Gregory, Joseph is clearly the elder: his hair and beard are lighter, and his hairline has visibly receded. On the persistence of this tradition, and deviations from it, see below, pp. 239-41; on Nicodemus' secondary status see also note 32.

⁸ Schiller, II, 109.

⁹ Neither the Pisan origin of this cross nor the strong Byzantinism of its style has ever been questioned. Most writers date it early in the thirteenth century, but a recent study ascribes it to the last quarter of the twelfth century (Kay Giles Hennessy, Seminar under Hugo Buchthal, New York University, Spring, 1972, cited by Parker, Descent, p. 38, n. 109). It is true that the Byzantine monuments which provide the closest stylistic antecedents for Pisa No. 20 are late Comnenian works; especially close is an icon on Mt. Sinai, Soteriou, pl. 72, late twelfth century. For the most important accounts of the cross see Sirén, pp. 201-3; Sandberg-Vavalà, Croce dipinta, pp. 674-81; Lasareff, "New Light," p. 68; Mostra, No. 14, pp. 43-47; Longhi, p. 32; Garrison, Index, No. 521, p. 24; Carli, Pittura medievale, pp. 28-30; DeWald, Italian Painting, pp. 36-37; Bologna, p. 57; Carli, Italian Primitives, p. 19; Campini, pp. 47, 183, 192; Oertel, p. 37; Hartt, p. 28.

¹⁰ The Berlinghieresque flavor of this cross and the closely related works by the Bardi St. Francis Master and the Vico l'Abate

Master have long been acknowledged. See, for instance, Garrison, Index, pp. 12, 18, 33.

¹¹As in the case of the earlier Passion scenes by this painter, the photograph is actually from his iconographically identical composition on the Madonna and Child with Passion Scenes (Florence, Bargello Museum; *ibid.*, No. 390).

¹²This sequence applies not only to the painted crosses but to most representations of the Descent; see below, pp. 238-39.

¹³This figure wears the Magdalen's traditional red mantle; for a color photograph see Bologna, fig. 69 or Campini, pl. XVI. Further, in Salerno's scene of the Three Maries at the Tomb, just opposite the Descent, the red-mantled figure holds the jar of ointment, Mary Magdalen's attribute.

¹⁴See note 1. Schiller discusses the Eucharistic content of the Carolingian image of Christ dead on the cross (II, 105-7) and a much later type, the Man of Sorrows (II, 201, 205-6, 218-19). Hartt, Michelangelo's Three Pietàs (New York, 1975), p. 23, pp. 29-30, notes the Eucharistic significance of the Pietà, which is closely related to the Descent from the Cross. See also Barbara Lane, "Depositio et Elevatio: The Symbolism of the Seilern Triptych," Art Bulletin, 57 (1975), 26.

¹⁵Descent, p. 32.

¹⁶Eastern writers as early as the fourth century related the Descent to the Offertory (Parker, Descent, pp. 68-72), while the Carolingian theologian Amalarius of Metz reinterpreted the Mass, associating the Descent with the Consecration (*ibid.*, pp. 65-67, p. 72). For Amalarius, the Descent became "the very focus of the Consecration" (*ibid.*, p. 72). The importance of this association, and implications which are not discussed by Parker, will be examined below, pp. 227-33.

Parker goes on to discuss the Descent in terms of the extra-liturgical rite, the Depositio of Good Friday, which originated in Northern Europe in the tenth century (*ibid.*, p. 83). Though the Depositio is her primary concern, it sheds less light on the iconographic development of the Descent than her original insight on the Eucharistic significance of the scene. She herself acknowledges that the Depositio "cannot have affected the visual representation of the scene except possibly to encourage the tendency to dramatize the event" (*ibid.*, p. 58, n. 52). She does, however, examine the iconography of a number of Depositions in the context of the liturgical significance of the scene; she is especially concerned with Benedetto

Antelami's marble relief in the Cathedral at Parma (ibid., pp. 183-99, fig. 2; Schiller, II, fig. 555).

¹⁷ See the recent review of the literature by Parker, Descent, pp. 1-7. In addition to the works which she cites (n. 1), consult Weitzmann, "The Origin of the Threnos," in De Artibus Opuscula XL: Essays in Honor of Erwin Panofsky, ed. Millard Meiss (New York, 1961), I, 476-90; Paulina Ratkowska, "The Iconography of the Deposition without St. John," Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes, 27 (1964), 312-17; Weitzmann, Catalogue of the Byzantine and Early Medieval Antiquities in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection, III: Ivories and Steatites (Washington, 1972), 62-68; M. Boskovits and G. Jazai, "Kreuzabnahme," Lexikon der Christlichen Ikonographie (1970); Henry Maguire, "Sorrow in Middle Byzantine Art," Dumbarton Oaks Papers, 31 (1977), 161-66; Velmans, Peinture murale, pp. 106-8.

¹⁸ The ivory in Constance, Rosgarten Museum, is dated to the early eleventh century by Weitzmann, "Threnos," pp. 483-84; for a group of iconographically related works, see Adolph Goldschmidt and Weitzmann, Die byzantinischen Elfenbeinskulpturen des X.-XIII. Jahrhunderts (Berlin, 1934), II, figs. 22a, 23, 204, 206, 209, 211b. The well-known Homilies of Gregory in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. gr. 510, is discussed in some detail by Parker, Descent, pp. 18-23. It is not unreasonable to assume that the Virgin was originally absent, as Millet suggests (pp. 468-69); the Gospel book in Paris, Copte 13, c. 1180 (Schiller, II, fig. 543) may reflect such a tradition, as may a number of early Western versions of the theme (ibid., figs. 544-47). Weitzmann, "Threnos," p. 478, posits the existence of a pre-iconoclastic narrative recension which included the theme; Parker, Descent, pp. 19-22, attempts to refute this theory, but is not convincing.

¹⁹ On the ivory, see Weitzmann, Catalogue, No. 27, pp. 65-68; he dates it to the tenth century.

²⁰ On the tenth-century ivory in Hannover, Provinzialmuseum, see Goldschmidt-Weitzmann, II, No. 40. The frescoes at Nerezi, 1164, Mileševa, 1230-35, and Staro Nagoričina, 1317, are discussed by Velmans, Peinture murale, pp. 107-8.

²¹ John's involvement occurs sooner than that of the holy women: as early as the eleventh century, he bends to kiss Christ's feet, as in Parma 5, fig. 112 (cf. also fig. 142). At Nerezi, fig. 117, he embraces Christ's hand.

²² The Acta Pilati, Recension B, includes a full lament by the Virgin (see Donehoo, pp. 357-58). James, p. 115, dates it to the ninth century. For George of Nicomedia, see Migne, P.G., 1486-87;

for Simeon, P.G. CXIV, 215; CXV, 554-55. These texts, cited originally by Millet (pp. 467, 490), have been mentioned by most later writers; see especially Ratkowska, pp. 315-16; Parker, Descent, pp. 23-32; Maguire, pp. 162-63.

²³Maguire, pp. 162-63, notes this juxtaposition between Christ's infancy and death in the texts by George and Simeon, but does not mention their possible apocryphal source. This sort of thought was transmitted to Italy, where it strongly influenced representations of the Madonna and Child; see, for instance, Hartt, History, p. 32.

²⁴For a representation of the Virgin of Vladimir see Rice, The Art of Byzantium (London, 1959), pl. 171. On the Eleousa see Lasareff, "Studies in the Iconography of the Virgin," Art Bulletin, 20 (1938), 36-42. Though Maguire discusses the writings of George and Simeon, in which Mary recalls Christ's childhood, in connection with Deposition iconography (pp. 163-64), he does not note the visual parallel between the Eleousa and Passion themes such as the Descent and the Threnos. Instead he follows Velmans (*Valeurs affectives*, p. 49) in associating Mary's embrace in the Threnos with an Old Testament theme, the Death of Jacob, in which Joseph embraces his father in similar fashion. The resemblance is certainly strong, and it seems reasonable to assume that the motif could migrate from the Threnos to the Deposition. But it is also possible, since George and Simeon provided the theological underpinnings, that iconographers drew inspiration from the Eleousa. The connection is still more explicit in a variation which occurs both in the two Passion themes and in the Eleousa, in which the juxtaposed faces of mother and son are inverted rather than parallel, as before. This iconographic type can be seen in the Rosana Cross and Pisa No. 20 (figs. 103 and 104); for Byzantine versions see pp. 223-24. For the comparable variant in the Eleousa, dubbed the "Playful Child" by Lasareff, see Lasareff, "Iconography of the Virgin," pp. 42-46, figs. 14, 17-22. This variant may have originated in Passion iconography and then have been transferred to the Eleousa; for its origins see note 71. But Simeon, describing the Virgin's lament at Christ's burial, almost appears to have had in mind the squirming infant seen in the "Playful Child": "I raised you in a mother's arms, but leaping and jumping as children do. Now I raise you up in the same arms, but without breath. . ." (P.G., CXIV, 216; translation by Maguire, p. 162).

²⁵Cottas, p. 80 (verses 1295-97; my translation of her French).

²⁶When it is mentioned, it is described only as a convenient device which permits the Virgin closer contact with her son (Millet, p. 475; Ratkowska, p. 314; Parker, Descent, p. 2). Pächt ignores it entirely; he considers two versions of the theme as examples of the same type, when in fact they differ with respect to Joseph's position (pp. 70-71, discussing the St. Albans Psalter and East Christian manuscripts).

²⁷ Early instances include the Hannover ivory (fig. 115) and a closely related Cappadician fresco in the New Church, Tokali Kilisse (Millet, fig. 508).

²⁸ This Etruscan relief, in Volterra, Museo Etrusco Guarnacci, is published by Touring Club Italiano, XVI: Toscana, 2 (Milan, 1966), 23, fig. 16; the caption to the photograph notes the resemblance to the Descent. To my knowledge the connection has not been observed elsewhere.

²⁹ In certain instances (Copte-arabe 1, fol. 57; Millet, fig. 504; Berlin gr. qu. 66, fol. 256v.; *ibid.*, fig. 505; British Museum, Harley 1810, fol. 205v.; Weitzmann, "Threnos," fig. 11), not only the bent elbow but the position of the other arm, dangling limply, closely resembles the stance of Patroclus. Only rarely does the bent elbow appear when Joseph supports Christ's body from below, but it does at times occur; see fig. 114. The position of the elbow, anatomically logical in the Etruscan relief, is less readily explicable in the iconography of the Deposition.

³⁰ Weitzmann, "Threnos," pp. 487-90; Weitzmann, "The Survival of Mythological Representations in Early Christian and Byzantine Art and their Impact on Christian Iconography," Dumbarton Oaks Papers, 14 (1960), 45-68.

³¹ Weitzmann, "Threnos," pp. 479-80, stresses the importance of Joseph's glance in the Entombment of Christ and its implications of a lull in the action: there, however, this device appears earlier, in the ninth-century Paris Gregory.

³² This short tunic is not uncommon in earlier representations, but after the eleventh century it almost disappears. Thus Weitzmann's statement that both disciples "normally . . . wear the short tunic of the workman" (Catalogue, p. 67) does not apply to Joseph. It does apply, however, to Nicodemus, despite the fact that he, like Joseph, was no workman but a member of the Sanhedrin (see note 2) and thus entitled to the prestigious pallium. It may be that Nicodemus retains the worker's tunic because, unlike Joseph, he continues to be shown engaged in physical labor. It is also possible that the short tunic was intended to remind the viewer of Nicodemus' secondary role in the drama. The canonical Gospels leave no doubt that his part was minor (see note 7) and some apocryphal texts go further: in the Acta Pilati, Recension B (Donehoo, pp. 357-58), Nicodemus is described as too cowardly to accompany Joseph to Pilate to request Christ's body. Perhaps this unflattering assessment of his character contributed to his lowly sartorial status. Byzantine artists use other iconographic means as well to emphasize Joseph's superiority: he is invariably shown as the elder of the two when their ages are distinguished (see

notes 7 and 141) and invariably has the honor of standing closer to Christ's head than Nicodemus in both the Deposition and the Entombment (on the respective positions of the disciples in this scene see Weitzmann, "Threnos," p. 478). Thus the attempts of some writers, apparently disconcerted by the representation of the aristocratic Nicodemus in such unseemly attire, to identify this figure as an anonymous laborer are unconvincing (Charles Morey, East Christian Manuscripts in the Freer Gallery [New York, 1914], p. 41, n. 3; Mahr, pp. 94-100).

³³ Most writers who note the shift consider this point primary; see note 26.

³⁴ Rarely, Joseph stands on the ladder when he is placed below Christ (fig. 110), but this placement is extremely unusual; in fact, some writers assume that he is invariably seen supporting Christ from above when the ladder is present (Millet, p. 468; Ratkowska, p. 314).

³⁵ On the transformation of narrative themes into iconic representations in the tenth century see Weitzmann, "Narrative and Liturgical," passim; "Threnos," p. 490.

³⁶ The earliest extant Byzantine version is that in the Paris Gregory (fig. 111); at about the same time, the theme appeared in the Angers Gospels (see note 7).

³⁷ Eleventh-century examples include miniatures in an Exultet Roll in Pisa (Duomo; Avery, II, pl. 81), the Chronicle of Marianus Scotus in the Vatican (Ms. Pal. lat. 830, fol. 103; Ratkowska, pl. 33-c), and a gradual in Rome (Biblioteca Angelica, Ms. 123, fol. 105r.; Garrison, "Pictorial Histories XII," pp. 93-110); a late eleventh-century fresco in Rome, San Paolo fuori le mura (destroyed; Wilpert, II, fig. 287), and a door panel at Verona, San Zeno, from the end of the century (Sandberg-Vavalà, Croce dipinta, fig. 255).

³⁸ A complete set of photographs of each cycle is available at the Princeton Index.

³⁹ For another possible reason for its inclusion, see below, pp. 217-18.

⁴⁰ It is found in no twelfth-century example known to me, but is revived early in the thirteenth century and thenceforth enjoys widespread popularity; this development will be discussed in detail on pp. 226-27.

⁴¹The Gospel Book of Melitene, formerly in Etschmiadzin, is now in the State Depository of Eriwan; see Frédéric Macler, Miniatures arméniennes (Paris, 1913), pl. XII, fig. 24, and Pächt, p. 70, pl. 120a. On the Syrian manuscript (British Museum, Add. 7170) and its twin in the Vatican, Ms. sir. 559, see Guillaume Jerphagnion, Les miniatures du manuscrit syriaque No 559 de la Bibliothèque Vaticane (Vatican City, 1940), fig. 47 and pl. XX (39); Pächt, pl. 120b. Both of these, and the Gospels of Melitene, are cited also by Millet (p. 475, n. 3), who adds a fourth, a fresco in Foti in Crete (*ibid.*, fig. 499) and a fifth, at Chemokmedi (p. 474, n. 2).

⁴²See note 34.

⁴³I know of only one instance in which the ladder extends to the level of the patibulum, the late thirteenth-century fresco at Prilep (fig. 140; see note 114). The elongation of the ladder is not the only apparently non-Byzantine aspect of the Prilep Descent; see below, note 119, for another. The possibility of Western influence on another scene at Prilep, the Mounting of the Cross, was proposed in Chapter V, note 13.

⁴⁴See the works cited in note 37.

⁴⁵New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, Ms. 780; see Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts: Major Acquisitions of the Pierpont Morgan Library, 1924-1974 (New York, 1974), No. 11.

⁴⁶*Ibid.*, No. 10.

⁴⁷One of the few exceptions occurs in the St. Albans Psalter, fol. 47; Pächt, pl. 29. Here the ladder, like those in Byzantine Depositions, is very small; only three rungs are visible. Other Northern instances occur in two twelfth-century English manuscripts associated with the St. Albans Psalter: Victoria and Albert 661 (Kauffmann, fig. 179) and a miniature in Oxford, Corpus Christi College, Ms. 2, fol. iv (*ibid.*, fig. 196); each retains the small Byzantine ladder. Outside England the ladder is even rarer. It appears occasionally in Germany during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, but there a variation occurs: it stands to the right and is either reserved for Nicodemus or left unoccupied. For an example of the first, see a manuscript in the Morgan Library, Ms. 284, fol. 7v. (Swarzenski, Die lateinischen Handschriften, pl. 139); for the second, see an enamel plaque in Hildesheim, Cathedral Treasury (Carl Wolff, Die Kunstdenkmäler der Provinz Hannover, II: Regierungsbesirk Hildesheim, 4 [Hannover, 1911], pl. XII).

⁴⁸I have not considered certain details, such as the sun and moon, angels and holy women, because they were so widely diffused in East and West that they cannot be considered exceptional.

⁴⁹Not only is the symmetry of the Virgin and John rarely found elsewhere--it does occur in the St. Albans Psalter (see note 47), but there Joseph stands above rather than below Christ--but it appears to have been characteristic of the scriptorium of St. Peter to represent them in this fashion. Thus both the Virgin and John grasp Christ's hands in a mid-twelfth-century antiphonary still at the monastery in Salzburg (Stiftsbibliothek St. Peter, cod. a. XII. 7, fol. 630; Swarzenski, *Salzburger Malerei*, pl. CIV, fig. 351), and their stances persist in Salzburg in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries; see note 109. A Salzburgian model may, in fact, have been responsible for the composition in the St. Albans Psalter; the Descent in the antiphonary especially resembles the English version in such unusual points as the placement of Joseph above Christ and the presence of the centurian, and even the curious beany-like caps worn by participants in each scene. Pächt acknowledges the resemblance between the English and Salzburgian Descents (p. 70, n. 3) and elsewhere notes other iconographic oddities shared by the St. Albans Psalter and Salzburgian illumination (*ibid.*, pp. 59, 84, 86, 122), but generally deemphasizes the importance of this center as a source for the English master.

⁵⁰For the discussion of the Way to Calvary, see Chapter IV, p. 137; for the Entombment, Chapter VII, pp. 305-6. Lucca and the Holy Roman Empire were closely linked in the later Middle Ages; their alliance might explain Gullielmus' reliance on Salzburgian sources. See Chapter VII, note 110.

⁵¹Black, pp. 27-40.

⁵²P.L., CXLIX, 599. Migne lists the text as a spurious work. The Latin text reads:

Nicodemus and Joseph . . .
Hi pedum ac manum clavos eduxerunt,
Atque de patibulo corpus sustulerunt.

Nunc accedens propera Genetrix orbata
Pia nati vulnera terge cruentata
Oscula vulneribus imprimens beata
Sanguinis libamina collige sacrata.

⁵³Black, p. 28.

⁵⁴If Gullielmus' source resembled the two Salzburgian manuscripts in the omission of Nicodemus, it may therefore be significant that

this Lucchese painter restored the disciple to his traditional place. The omission of Nicodemus also occurs in two manuscripts from Fulda (Schiller, II, figs. 546-47) and may originate there: at Fulda the Carolingian epic, the Heliand, was composed, and it similarly excludes Nicodemus from the Descent, despite the fact that the Syrian source of the Heliand places him there. On the differences between the Heliand and its source, see Parker, Descent, pp. 24-26; she does not, however, associate the text with the manuscripts produced at Fulda.

⁵⁵See G. H. Crichton, Nicola Pisano and the Revival of Sculpture in Italy (Cambridge, 1938), pp. 110-12, pl. 77. Parker notes the choice of this subject for tympana, Descent, pp. 8-9, and cites a number of examples (p. 8, n. 30; p. 9, n. 32); the San Martino tympanum is the only Italian instance which she mentions. Another occurs, however, at Sant'Andrea in Vercelli, c. 1219 (Venturi, Storia dell'arte Italiana, III: L'Arte romanica (Milan, 1904), fig. 321; Crichton, Romanesque Sculpture, pp. 80-81).

⁵⁶The examples reproduced here are two works by the Oblate Cross Master, one the lower right scene in the Uffizi diptych (Garrison, Index, No. 243; fig. 125), the other a panel from a German dealer, whereabouts now unknown (ibid., No. 655; fig. 126); and a Berlinghieresque panel in the Yale University Gallery (ibid., No. 679; fig. 127). The fourth example appears on a panel (ex-Gentner Collection, Florence, whereabouts unknown; ibid., No. 694) which departs from the type seen in these three; here, one of Christ's hands is still affixed to the cross. This variant will be discussed with respect to the Descent by Enrico di Tedice, p. 237.

⁵⁷Millet, p. 479, fig. 509. A slightly earlier version of this type appears in the badly damaged fresco at Tokali Kilisse (see note 27). Though this fresco appears to be the earliest fully developed example of the type, a rudimentary phase is reflected in the ninth-century Angers Gospels (see note 7); there, the angular position of Christ's body is almost identical.

⁵⁸See the discussion in note 32.

⁵⁹Goldschmidt-Weitzmann, II, No. 232.

⁶⁰Fulda, Landesbibliothek, Ms. Aa6. fol. 94r.: see Herbert Kolner, Die illuminierten Handschriften des Hessischen Landesbibliothek Fulda, I: Handschriften des 6. bis 13. Jahrhunderts (Stuttgart, 1976), No. 38, fig. 326.

⁶¹The manuscript comes from San Silvestro, Nonatola; see Giovanni Muzzioli, Mostra storica nazionale della miniatura (Florence, 1954), No. 133, pp. 94-95. See also the discussion by Bologna, p. 50.

⁶² Byzantine examples, besides the Tokali Kilisse fresco and the two ivories, include those in the Morgan Lectionary (fig. 116), in Harley 1810 (see note 29), in a Cilician manuscript by T'oros Roslin in the Walters Gallery, Ms. 539, fol. 125r. (*Der Nersessian, Armenian Manuscripts*, pl. 59), and on icons on Mt. Sinai (Soteriou, pl. 234; Demus, *Byzantine Art and the West*, fig. 49).

For other Western examples, see a psalter from the Dyson Perrins Collection, Malvern, fol. 93v. (Bober, frontispiece) and the Ingeborg Psalter, fol. 27r. (Deutschler, fig. 31). Both Demus, p. 43, and Deutschler, pp. 54-55, discuss the relationship between the Ingeborg Psalter and Byzantine prototypes.

⁶³ Migne, *P.L.*, CLXXXII, 1138. See H. Barré, "Le Planctus Mariae attribué à St. Bernard," *Revue d'ascétique et de mystique*, 27 (1952), 243-66, and Marrow, p. 167, n. 3, for the attribution of this text to Ogier. The translation that follows is by Ratkowska, p. 317. For other texts which reflect this Christocentric piety see Sticca, *Latin Passion Play*, pp. 43-45 and Sticca, "The Literary Genesis of the Latin Passion Play," in *The Medieval Drama*, Papers for the Third Annual Conference of the Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, State University of New York, Binghamton, May 1969, ed. Sandro Sticca (Albany, 1972), pp. 39-68, especially pp. 43-49. On the suffering of the Virgin, *ibid.*, pp. 55-63.

⁶⁴ Many Western texts, including some which had discussed earlier Passion scenes in considerable detail, describe the Deposition only briefly or pass over it entirely. Thus Peter Comestor (*P.L.*, CXCVIII, 1634), Pseudo-Bernard (*P.L.*, CLXXXIV, 963) and Pseudo-Bede (*P.L.*, XCIV, 568) provide few, if any, details beyond the Evangelists' accounts; none of the three even mentions the Virgin. *The Narrative of Joseph of Arimathea* (Walker, p. 242) is similarly uninformative. The Deposition is treated in greater detail by Pseudo-Anselm (*P.L.*, CLIX, 286), but even though the episode is described by Mary herself, she betrays no hint of grief at this time. This account will be discussed in detail below, pp. 227-28. For Eastern texts see note 22.

⁶⁵ For Pseudo-Bonaventura see Ragusa and Green, pp. 341-42; his account will be considered more fully below, pp. 244-45. In the Eastern texts by George of Nicomedia and Simeon Metaphrastes (see note 22), Mary does take her son in her arms; texts like these may have inspired Ogier, just as a Byzantine composition ultimately lies behind the Uffizi Descent.

⁶⁶ The action of the Virgin's swoon seems to originate in the *Acta Pilati*, Recension B; there, however, she faints at the sight of Christ on the road to Calvary, not during the Deposition (Donehoo, p. 345). In the Meditations of Pseudo-Bonaventura, she also swoons

earlier, when Longinus pierces Christ's side (Ragusa and Green, p. 339); but Pseudo-Bonaventura's description of the Deposition does not allude to this incident.

⁶⁷ Millet, pp. 416-18; Sandberg-Vavalà, *Croce dipinta*, pp. 148-49. No thorough study of the swooning Virgin exists; in addition to the accounts by Millet and Sandberg-Vavalà, see Lasareff, "Iconography of the Virgin," p. 44 and Schiller, II, 152-53.

⁶⁸ On the attribution of this cross to both Florence and Pisa, see the writers cited in Chapter I, note 9.

⁶⁹ A slightly earlier stage of this iconographic type is preserved in the Esztergom reliquary (Rice, *Art of Byzantium*, pl. 135); there, John does not yet take Christ's hand, but the composition is identical in every other respect.

⁷⁰ Millet, fig. 512.

⁷¹ Millet-Frolow, I, pl. 84 (4). The "Kurbinovo variation" was probably derived from a similar variant in the Entombment: in several examples (e.g. a Carolingian ivory in the Louvre, Millet, fig. 523; the fresco at Sant'Angelo in Formis, my fig. 178; frescoes at Lavra and Dionysiou, Millet, figs. 560 and 562) the faces of the Virgin and Christ are similarly juxtaposed. The two earlier examples resemble the earlier phase of this type in the Descent, seen in the Morgan Lectionary (fig. 117), in which the Virgin's chin brushes Christ's hair or cheek; in the two later works, their faces are almost parallel and cheek to cheek as they are in the Omophorion, the two Tuscan Descents and apparently at Kurbinovo. On this type, and its associations with the iconography of the Eleousa, see note 24.

⁷² On Barisanus see Boeckler's monograph; he publishes the reliefs at Trani and Monreale in figs. 131 and 147. A related composition appears in a fresco at St. Nicolas, Tavant, dated c. 1150 by Demus (*Romanesque Wall Painting* [New York, 1970], p. 425), and reproduced and discussed by Schiller, II, fig. 601, pp. 167, 176. This curious image reflects a prototype similar to the Descent in the Morgan Lectionary (fig. 116), but the Virgin is shown seated rather than standing. Resembling this group of works in the transposed alignment of Mary's and Christ's hands, but otherwise unrelated, are two other twelfth-century Northern works: an English ivory in the Victoria and Albert Museum, discussed at length by Ratkowska (pp. 312-17, pl. 37-a) and the Tyrolian fresco at Castel Appiano (Antonio Morassi, "Affreschi romanici del Castel Appiano," *Bollettino d'Arte*, 6 [1926-27], 433-59, fig. 22).

⁷³ According to Demus, Mosaics of Norman Sicily, p. 288, Barisanus derived his composition from a model like the Monreale mosaic (ibid., pl. 71B); Demus attributes the compositional reversal to the casting process, and the change in the Virgin's position to the restricted space of the door panel. It seems, however, that these departures from the Monreale type stem less from Barisanus' adjustments of that image than from his reliance on a different model. The Descent in the Morgan Lectionary, for instance (fig. 116), would provide a precedent for both aspects of his composition.

⁷⁴ On Bonannus see Boeckler, *passim*.

⁷⁵ Even if Bonannus executed the doors in Pisa, as Demus suggests (Mosaics of Norman Sicily, p. 107), he was certainly in contact with Monreale. Another link between Pisa and Sicily in the second half of the twelfth century is provided by the doors of the Baptistry at Pisa, probably the work of Sicilian craftsmen (André Chastel, Italian Art [New York, 1963], p. 72).

⁷⁶ See, for instance, Herlihy, p. 29, pp. 32-33 on the contact between Pisa and Byzantium in the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries.

⁷⁷ Sandberg-Vavalà's analytical table indicates that the Descent on the Tolomei Cross is of the same iconographic type as those on Uffizi No. 434 and the Castellare Cross (Croce dipinta, pp. 448-49, No. 26 bis).

⁷⁸ Enrico's Descent (fig. 107), which will be discussed in detail below (pp. 237-41), is a variant of the usual mid-century type; because Christ's left hand has not yet been detached from the cross, John cannot duplicate the Virgin's action and simply stands to one side. Despite this difference, it is far closer visually and conceptually to contemporary Descents than to earlier patterns.

⁷⁹ The only other iconographic type appearing in Tuscan painting between c. 1240 and c. 1270 is the variant favored by Enrico; for examples see note 139.

⁸⁰ Pächt, p. 70, referring to the Descent in the Melitene Gospels; there, however, Joseph is not shown at rest but in motion (see fig. 121).

⁸¹ See Crichton, Romanesque Sculpture, p. 118.

⁸² This example is the best-known member of the group, that in the Cathedral of Volterra. Though relatively late (c. 1260), it has

remained intact, unlike many of the others. On the group in general see Geza de Francovich, "A Romanesque Group of Wood Carvers in Central Italy," Art Bulletin, 19 (1937), 5-57; Parker, Descent, pp. 173-83 (with bibliography). The earliest of the group is thought to be the Virgin and John from Arezzo, now in Paris, Cluny Museum, from the beginning of the century (Francovich, fig. 4; Parker, fig. 143); the earliest with a firm date, the Christ from Santa Maria di Roncione near Deruta, now in the Pinacoteca of Perugia, dated by inscription 1236 (Francovich, fig. 12; Parker, fig. 141). Both Francovich (p. 18) and Parker (p. 182) ascribe the groups to sculptors trained at Arezzo.

⁸³ See note 55.

⁸⁴ P.L., CLIX, 271-290. Kosloff (p. 47, n. 69), citing R. Ligtenberg ("Rondom de Meditations van den Pseudo-Bonaventura," Studia Catholica 4 [1929], 247), dates it after 1240. But as Marrow, p. 167, observes, it was written before the Meditations of Pseudo-Bonaventura, which probably dates from the 1270's. See Chapter I, note 109.

⁸⁵ P.L., CLIX, 286-87. The Latin text reads:

Dum Joseph corpus deponerunt, ego stabam juxta crucem sursum recipiens. Exspectabam quando brachium solveretur, ut tangerem et deoscularer, sicut et feci; et cum depositus esset de cruce, posuerunt eum super terram bene ad tres passus de loco crucis. Et ego caput ejus in sinum meum recipiens amarissime flere coepi dicens, "Heu! dulcissime fili"

⁸⁶ As Parker has stressed (Descent, pp. 30-32), Byzantine texts such as those by George of Nicomedia and Simeon Metaphrastes draw a distinction between the Virgin's emotional control during the Deposition and her free lamentation after Christ's body was placed on the ground. Pseudo-Anselm was presumably influenced by this sort of thought. But he restricts the Virgin's actions far more than do the Byzantine sermonists; in their accounts (see note 22), Mary supports Christ's body herself. Pseudo-Anselm in turn seems to have influenced Pseudo-Bonaventura; in his account, too, Mary only caresses Christ's hand during the Deposition; though she weeps, she does not give full vent to her sorrow until Christ's body has been set down (Ragusa and Green, p. 342).

⁸⁷ See pp. 207-8 and note 16.

⁸⁸ She does discuss the wood groups represented by the Volterra Deposition (fig. 133; Descent, pp. 179-83), but does not analyze the specific iconographic type to which they all conform; her primary concern is a twelfth-century monument, Antelami's relief at Parma.

⁸⁹The Gospels of Otto III, Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cod. lat. 4453. On the sacramental meaning of the theme, see Schiller, I, 165-67.

⁹⁰For other, closely related versions of the theme, see Schiller, II, figs. 56, 58, 60, 61, 64. According to Schiller (I, 166 and II, 29), the kissing of Christ's hands in both the Multiplication of the Loaves and Fishes and the Communion of the Apostles reflects the liturgical practice of kissing the hand of the priest.

⁹¹Christ appears with outstretched hands in a great number of Eucharistic themes. In the Multiplication of the Loaves and Fishes, this stance can be traced to the Early Christian period (as in the Trinity Sarcophagus, Rome, Lateran Museum, Schiller, I, fig. 476, or the Sinope Gospels, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. Suppl. gr. 1286, fol. 10v., Schiller, I, fig. 479). Much the same stance occurs in representations of the Last Supper, ranging from Ottonian illumination (e.g. the Golden Gospels of Henry III, Escorial, Cod. Vetrinas 17, fol. 52r., Schiller, II, fig. 80) to the great fresco by Leonardo da Vinci. The same pose appears in the Supper at Emmaus (as in the St. Albans Psalter, fol. 70; Pächt, pl. 39) and in the devotional image of the Mystic Winepress (as in a seventeenth-century engraving published by Maurice Vloberg, *L'Eucharistie dans l'art* [Grenoble and Paris, 1946], p. 180). The representation of Christ in both the engraving and in Leonardo's Last Supper especially recalls His appearance in these Descents in His downcast eyes--a clear reference to His impending Passion. The Eucharistic meaning of the Supper at Emmaus is discussed by Vloberg, pp. 125-33; on the Mystic Winepress, see Vloberg, pp. 172-83 and Schiller, II, 228-29.

⁹²Parker, *Descent*, pp. 66-67. Despite the particular relevance of the early thirteenth century to her thesis, she does not discuss the new concern with the Eucharist which characterized this period.

⁹³On the Council in general see *The Cambridge Medieval History*, VI: *Victory of the Papacy* (1929; rpt. Cambridge, 1968), 635-98; on the history of the Eucharistic controversies which gave rise to Innocent's doctrine, *ibid.*, 669-85; on Innocent's interest in the Sacrament and his contributions to Eucharistic devotion, Steven Joseph Van Dijk and J. Hazelden Walker, *The Origins of the Modern Roman Liturgy: The Liturgy of the Papal Court and the Franciscan Order in the Thirteenth Century* (Westminster, Md., 1960), p. 360.

⁹⁴A decree that the host should be elevated "so that all may see" was issued shortly after the Council; see V. C. Kennedy, "The Moment of Consecration and the Elevation of the Host," *Medieval Studies*, 4 (1944), 121-50.

⁹⁵Schiller, II, 11. She mentions the Eucharistic controversies, the Fourth Lateran Council and the veneration of the Sacrament in connection with medieval devotion to the Passion, but not with the iconography of the Deposition. The Depositio rite in Italy, a ceremony focusing on the consecrated Host, may have been an outgrowth of this cult, though neither Parker nor Solange Corbin, La Deposition liturgique du Christ au Vendredi Saint (Paris, 1960) associates the two. Corbin, in contrast to Parker, considers the rite largely a phenomenon of the thirteenth century (p. 120), primarily found in Italy (p. 216). Parker states that Corbin's study was unavailable to her (Descent, p. 61, n. 60).

⁹⁶See W. J. O'Shea, "Corpus Christi," New Catholic Encyclopedia (1967).

⁹⁷Van Dijk and Walker, p. 360, state that in Innocent's reforms concerning the Eucharist, "he had no greater supporter than St. Francis."

⁹⁸Omnibus, pp. 78-99. Lawrence Cunningham, who quotes this passage (St. Francis of Assisi [Boston, 1976], p. 40), describes it as "central" to Francis' thinking. Francis' concern with the Eucharist is especially felt in his later letters (Omnibus, pp. 100-16, *passim*).

⁹⁹Van Dijk and Walker, p. 361.

¹⁰⁰Consider, for instance, the sacramental meaning implicit in a thirteenth-century lauda (quoted by Sticca, Latin Passion Play, p. 156), in which Joseph states that he is unworthy of the honor of receiving Christ: "O Signore, io non so degno . . ." The phrase clearly recalls the words recited by the celebrant of the Mass just before receiving Communion: "Domine, non sum dignus . . ." (The Missal in Latin and English [Westminster, Md., 1962], p. 709).

¹⁰¹The few exceptions include the Descent on the Tressa Master's Siena Cross (according to Sandberg-Vavalà, Croce dipinta, pp. 633-34, this example most closely resembles that on Cross No. 432) and possibly that on Pisa No. 20, though it may have been executed in the late twelfth century (see note 9).

¹⁰²Michelangelo's Three Pietàs, p. 30, in reference to the Rome Pieta.

¹⁰³On the Franciscan origins of this panel see Chapter IV, note 66. The image may have appealed to the Minorites for another, though related, reason: its emphasis on the wounds of Christ suggests the

ostentatio vulnerum of the later Man of Sorrows. The relevance of this theme to the Stigmata of Francis himself is clear; Schiller, II, 201 associates the ostentatio with Franciscan piety.

¹⁰⁴ Schiller, II, 172, describes this work as the "Bearing or Displaying of the Body of Christ." The debt of Fra Angelico's panel to Dugento Depositions was suggested by Panofsky, Early Netherlandish Painting (Cambridge, Mass., 1953), p. 273. Panofsky, however, compared Fra Angelico's composition to the wood sculpture groups (cf. fig. 133) and to a manuscript in Turin (Schiller, II, fig. 559). In both Joseph stands below Christ, climbing the ladder; the Descent from Cross No. 434, where he stands above, is considerably closer. Pächt, citing Panofsky (p. 71, n. 5), also associates the type with Fra Angelico's panel, but he, too, seems to have been unaware of the mid-Dugento compositions, which were far more likely to have influenced Angelico than any of the works to which he refers (the St. Albans Psalter, the wood carving at Volterra, Gulliellmus' panel and a Venetian diptych in the Berne Museum [ibid., pl. 121a]).

¹⁰⁵ According to Schiller, II, 199, the theme probably came into being before the twelfth century. On the Man of Sorrows in general see Schiller, II, 197-230, with bibliography cited in p. 197, n. 21.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid., p. 219.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid., pp. 205-6. Earlier (p. 199) she traces this sacramental symbolism to Byzantine liturgical practice.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid., p. 201.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid., p. 219. Both the general Eucharistic meaning and the specific association with the cult of the Corpus Christi is also explicit in a fifteenth-century manuscript illumination in London, British Museum, Add. 17047, fol. 4 (Schiller, II, fig. 760). Here the body of Christ is presented in an enormous chalice held by two kneeling angels. Despite the change in subject, the connections with the Dugento Descent are clear in Christ's outstretched hands (exactly as in, for instance, the Castellare panel, fig. 106), the crucifix behind Christ and the symmetrical stances of the angels, recalling the positions of the Virgin and John. The manuscript was produced for the Register of the Scuola di Corpo di Cristo, Venice. Derivation from this iconographic type of the Descent--and the relationship to several other Eucharistic themes (see note 91)--is even clearer in other versions of the Man of Sorrows. See, for instance, a wall painting by Masters Friedrich and Johann of Villach in Mariapfarr, Salzburg, 1430 (ibid., fig. 774), a panel in St. Peter's, Salzburg, 1496 (ibid., fig. 780), a panel in the Stadelches Kunstinstitut, Frankfurt, c. 1503 (ibid., fig. 779), and a panel by Hans Baldung Grien in the National

Gallery, London, 1512 (ibid., fig. 778). The presence of two of these works in Salzburg--one of which is still in the monastery of St. Peter--reminds us that this form of the Descent seems to have been originally developed at the scriptorium of that monastery; see pp. 215-16.

Finally, it should be noted that the connection between the Man of Sorrows and this type of the Descent has not been overlooked entirely. Wiltrud Mersmann, "Das Elfenbeinkreuz der Sammlung Topic-Mimara," Wallraf-Richartz Jahrbuch, 25 (1963), 7-108, links the St. Albans Descent with this theme (p. 24, n. 34). He does not, however, discuss the Dugento image, nor does he mention the underlying Eucharistic content of each scene. See also the comments by Panofsky and Pächt (note 104); again, however, neither discusses the mid-Dugento image or the common sacramental meaning.

¹¹⁰Eucharistic symbolism was probably also intended in one of the few earlier Western versions of this exact iconographic type, the Descent in the St. Albans Psalter (see note 47), for Eucharistic themes are strongly emphasized in a number of other illuminations of the psalter. Thus, in the Feast of the House of Simon (fol. 36; Pächt, pl. 24a), sacramental hosts are prominently displayed on the banquet table. The Agony in the Garden (fol. 39; ibid., pl. 25b) features an enormous and unprecedented chalice--according to Pächt (ibid., p. 61), "an original contribution" of the English illuminator. The same chalice recurs in the next page, Christ and the Sleeping Apostles (fol. 40; ibid., pl. 26a). The Last Supper (fol. 41; ibid., pl. 26b) is of course explicitly Eucharistic. Hosts appear again in two final scenes: the Supper at Emmaus (fol. 70; ibid., pl. 39) and Christ Disappears at Emmaus (fol. 71; ibid., pl. 40). The repeated emphasis on the Eucharist in this manuscript--a point overlooked by Pächt--may reflect the interest in the Sacrament which was spurred in the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries by the Berengarian heresy. On the heresy and its aftermath see The Cambridge Medieval History, VI, 678-85.

¹¹¹The type had appeared in Northern Europe earlier, though extremely rarely; the best-known example is that in the St. Albans Psalter. On this miniature and the closely related version in the Salzburg Antiphony, see note 49.

The same composition also appears in a controversial manuscript, a psalter in Oxford, Bodleian Library, Canon. lit. 393, fol. 252v. (unpublished; photograph available at the Princeton Index). Pächt and J. J. G. Alexander, Illuminated Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, II: Italian School (Oxford, 1970), 103-4, consider it Italian, but of "doubtful provenance." They note that its captions are French and that its calendar and litany reflect a model from Liège, but that its figure style suggests the Epistolary of Giovanni da Gaibana. Their proposal that it may be connected with the Crusader States has some

merit; the Epistolary bears a remarkably close resemblance to the manuscripts attributed to Acre by Buchthal, Miniature Painting and recently by Jaroslav Folda, Crusader Manuscript Illumination at Saint Jean d'Acre, 1275-1291 (Princeton, 1976).

A different provenance is proposed, though equally tentatively, by Francois Bucher, The Pamplona Bibles (New Haven and London, 1970), I, 88: he describes it as "southern French (?)" but notes iconographic connections with Italian Giant Bibles.

¹¹²Émile Molinier, La trésor de la Basilique de Saint Marc à Venice (Venice, 1888), pl. XIII, dates it to the eleventh century, but Klaus Wessel, Byzantine Enamels from the Fifth to the Thirteenth Century (Greenwich, Conn., 1967), pp. 199-200, places it in the late thirteenth or fourteenth century.

¹¹³Antoine Muñoz, L'Art byzantin a l'exposition de Grottaferrata (Rome, 1906), p. 123.

¹¹⁴Millet-Frolow, III, pl. 25 (2, 3). Though there appear to be certain Western intrusions in this fresco (see notes 43 and 119) the composition as a whole is Byzantine, as a comparison with the Marciana enamel or the Vatican steatite shows.

¹¹⁵The motif is not uncommon in thirteenth-century Byzantine versions of the Descent; one example appears in Berlin gr. qu. 66, fol. 256v. (Millet, fig. 505). But it had been transmitted at Aquileia (ibid., fig. 513).

¹¹⁶Parker, Descent, p. 130, identifies the tower at Aquileia as Christ's tomb, but does not explain her statement. The motif probably migrated from the adjacent Entombment in a continuous narrative like Plut. VI. 23. In fol. 163r. of that manuscript (Velmans, Tetra-évangile, fig. 365), the process is already underway: the Entombment reads from right to left rather than the reverse, and Christ's sepulchre thus drifts into the compositional space of the Descent. In the Cilician Gospel book, Walters 539 (see note 62), the identity of the tower as Christ's tomb is unmistakable: Mary stands at the entrance of the tomb embracing her son as she and Joseph support His body.

¹¹⁷Both appear in the strongly Berlinghieresque panel at Yale, fig. 127; the short tunic, which also appears in figs. 125 and 126, can be traced to Gulliellmus (fig. 101). The strong debt of the Uffizi Cross Master to Lucchese painting is well-known; see note 10, and Chapter II, note 3.

¹¹⁸It is interesting that most other Byzantine versions of this type, and the Descent in Canon. lit. 393 (see note 111), resemble the Prilep fresco in the smaller scale of the Virgin and the resulting sense of asymmetry.

¹¹⁹Weitzmann, Catalogue, p. 66, suggests that Nicodemus is using the tool to loosen the nail. The hammer also appears with the peg in Paris gr. 74, fol. 100r. (Omont, Évangiles, I, pl. 88) and in Copte 13 (see note 18). It appears with the pincers only in the fresco at Prilep (fig. 140); for the possibility of Western influence at Prilep see note 43.

¹²⁰See the Angers Gospels (note 7), the Pisa Exultet and the closely related Chronicle of Marianus Scotus (both cited in note 37); the last two are virtually identical to the ivory at Dumbarton Oaks.

¹²¹Boulogne-sur-Mer, Bibliothèque de la Ville, Ms. 20; Cook, p. 194. Again the resemblance to a Byzantine model like the ivory in Washington is clear.

¹²²It occurs especially in French psalters, possibly descendants of the Psalter of St. Bertin; among them are the Psalter of Louis and Blanche of Castille, Paris, Arsenal, Ms. 1186, fol. 24r. (Henry Martin, Les joyaux de l'Arsenal [Paris, 1909], I, pl. XXX) and a psalter in Chantilly, Musée Condé, Ms. 1453, fol. 45v; (J. Meurgey, Les Principaux manuscrits à peintures du Musée Condé [Paris, 1930], pl. XIV). It is interesting that an Anglo-Norman Easter play of c. 1175 specifies that Joseph carries a hammer and tongs (O. B. Hardison, Christian Site and Christian Drama in the Middle Ages [Baltimore, 1965], p. 283); for the date, *ibid.*, p. 253).

¹²³For a reference to a photograph of the Tressa Cross see note 4.

¹²⁴French models seem to have influenced the closely related Pisan painter Enrico di Tedice; see Chapter IV, pp. 146-47.

¹²⁵The hammer and pincers occur in, for instance, Simone Martini's Deposition in Antwerp (Koninklijk Museum voor Schoone Kunsten; Schiller, II, fig. 560). They appear, too, in several late Dugento works, among them the fresco at San Francesco, Assisi, by the St. Francis Master (Schultze, fig. 104) and the panel by one of his followers in Perugia (Galleria Nazionale dell'Umbria; Garrison, Index, No. 442).

¹²⁶See note 37.

¹²⁷For other examples see Millet, figs. 495, 513; Velmans, Peinture murale, figs. 96, 97, 118.

¹²⁸Guglielmo Matthiae, Le porte bronzee bizantine in Italia (Rome, 1971), pp. 73-82.

¹²⁹It occurs, to my knowledge, only twice in the North: in Victoria and Albert 661 (see note 47) and in a fresco at St.-Savin-sur-Gartempe (Anthony, figs. 294-95). But neither greatly resembles Enrico's composition in other respects: the San Paolo door panel is by far the closest antecedent.

¹³⁰See, for instance, the Arrest of Christ and Denial of Peter in Parma 5, Schiller, II, fig. 171, or the Last Supper in Sant'Angelo in Formis, *ibid.*, fig. 72.

¹³¹The same background appears in Paris gr. 54, fol. 107r.; Omont, Miniatures, pl. XCIV, fig. 11.

¹³²Demus, "The Style of the Kariye Djami," p. 118, compares them with curtains.

¹³³The resemblance to Plut. VI, 23 may be more than fortuitous; the Passion scenes examined earlier repeatedly showed that Enrico was familiar with a work very close to that Gospel book (see Chapter III, pp. 97-8 ; Chapter IV, pp. 148-49).

¹³⁴See figs. 111-13, 141, 144, and the works cited in note 127. Cook, p. 198, refers to Enrico's type as a "western variant" and Sandberg-Vavalà, Croce dipinta, p. 446, n. 4 similarly notes its deviance from the norm. Neither, however, explains its origin.

¹³⁵Two texts also specify that Nicodemus must free both hands before turning to Christ's feet: the Christos Paschon (Cottas, p. 82) and the Painter's Guide of Dionysios of Fournà (trans. Paul Durand, Manuel d'iconographie chrétienne [1845: rpt. New York, 1963], pp. 197-98).

¹³⁶Staatsbibliothek; Goldschmidt-Weitzmann, II, No. 22a.

¹³⁷Staatliche Museum; Schiller, II, 166.

¹³⁸Goldschmidt and Weitzmann (II, 30) point out that the ivory is part of a book cover of the Gospels of Bishop Ellenhard of Freising

(1052-78). Among the descendants of this type are the enamel at Hildesheim (see note 47); frescoes at Písek (Jiří Měsín, Romanesque Mural Painting in Bohemia and Moravia [Prague, 1954], pl. 84) and Cologne, St. Maria Lyskirchen (Fritz Goldkuhle, Mittelalterliche Wandmalerei in St. Maria Lyskirchen [Dusseldorf, 1954], fig. 41), and the illuminations in Besançon, Bibliothèque Municipale, Ms. 54, fol. 16v. (Swarzenski, Die lateinische Handschriften, pl. 99), Liverpool, Public Library, Ms. 12004, fol. 10r. (ibid., pl. 116), and Munich, Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 17401, fol. 24r. The type also appears in the Tyrolian fresco at Castel Appiano (see note 72), probably under German influence, and in the sketchbook of Villard de Honnecourt (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, fr. 19093, fol. 13v., Hans R. Hahnloser, Villard de Honnecourt [Vienna, 1935], pl. 26).

¹³⁹ German instances include fol. 81r. of the early twelfth-century Missal of Odalricus (Fulda, Landesbibliothek, Ms. A. a. 35; photograph available at the Princeton Index) and the Depositions in several thirteenth-century manuscripts: Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, Ms. 37 (Walters Art Gallery, Illuminated Books of the Middle Ages and Renaissance [Baltimore, 1939], pl. XXXIb); New York, Metropolitan Museum, Ms. 2, fol. 2 (Swarzenski, Die lateinischen Handschriften, pl. 193); Nuremberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Ms. 56632, fol. 71r. (ibid., pl. 137). French examples are primarily Gothic: among them are the stained-glass windows at Chartres (Delaporte, pl. I), Clermond-Ferrand (Du Ranquet, pl. opposite p. 196), and Sitges (Cook, fig. 69). In Italy the type occurs only once before Enrico's cross, in the fresco in San Paolo fuori le mura (see note 37).

¹⁴⁰ The type occurs in a panel attributed to Enrico himself (Garrison, Index, No. 686), in a Lucchese panel from the Gentner Collection (ibid., No. 694), and in a Tuscan tabernacle in New York, Frick Art Reference Library (ibid., No. 327).

¹⁴¹ See, for instance, all the examples from Byzantine painting illustrated here: figs. 110, 111, 112, 113, 116, 117, 118, 119, 121, 122, 133, 143, 144. Even in ivories, where it might be more difficult to distinguish the relative ages of the two, Nicodemus is still clearly shown as the younger; he is represented either with a shorter beard than Joseph's or is clean-shaven (figs. 114, 115, 128, 145). Dionysios of Fournas describes Joseph as an "old man with a beard" (Durand, p. 197), but does not specify Nicodemus' physical type.

¹⁴² In this text, quoted by Réau (II, pt. 2, 515), Nicodemus offers to work at Christ's feet rather than claiming the privilege of holding His body.

¹⁴³ For the first, see Schiller, II, fig. 544; for the second, ibid., fig. 546.

¹⁴⁴Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 13067; Karl Usener, "Excurs zum Psalterium Clm. 13067 der Münchner Staatsbibliothek," Münchner Jahrbuch der Bildenden Kunst, 1 (1950), 89-90.

¹⁴⁵Examples occur in the Psalter of Louis and Blanche of Castille (cited in note 122), in the Sitges window (see note 139), and in three works strongly influenced by French models: the Picture Bible of King Sancho al Fuerto, c. 1197 (Amiens, Bibliothèque de la Ville, Ms. 108, fol. 190r., Bucher, II, pl. 429), the Thuringo-Saxon Psalter of St. Elizabeth, 1200-7 (Cividale, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Ms. -CXXXVII, fol. 11r., Antonio Santangelo, Cividale, Catalogo delle cose d'arte e di antichità d'Italia, X [Rome, 1936], pp. 151, 155) and an English psalter, c. 1230-50, in Cambridge, St. John's College, Ms. K. 26, fol. 20v. (see George Henderson, "Ms. K. 26 in the Library of St. John's College, Cambridge" [Ph.D. dissertation, Cambridge University, 1959]). A final example occurs in the twelfth-century Prayer Book of St. Hildegardis (Munich, Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 935, fol. 62v.; Ratkowska, pl. 37-d).

¹⁴⁶See note 124.

¹⁴⁷The specific gesture in Salerno's panel, in which the mourning women covers her face with a veil, is actually closer to other Byzantine Descents, such as that in Berlin 66 (see note 115), Iviron 5 (fig. 143), or the Syrian manuscript in the British Museum (fig. 122). These works testify to the popularity of this gesture in the thirteenth century. Still, it is not new to Italy--compare the Aquileia fresco (see note 115). And it must have been known in Byzantium from the early twelfth century; it appears in the strongly Byzantinizing manuscript in the Victoria and Albert, Ms. 661 (see note 47). Compare, too, the mournful gestures of the holy women in Middle Byzantine Entombments (e.g. in the Vatican Lectionary, fig. 167).

¹⁴⁸Contrast the more generous spacing at Nerezi, fig. 117, or in Pisa No. 20, fig. 104.

¹⁴⁹Coor considered the possibility of a Pisan sojourn for Salerno's father Coppo; see "Coppo," pp. 11-13.

¹⁵⁰Joseph stands on the stool in, for instance, Berlin 66 (see note 115), Parma 5 (fig. 112), and Iviron 5 (fig. 143); Nicodemus occupies it in Laur VI. 23 (fig. 144).

¹⁵¹Goldschmidt-Weitzmann, II, pl. LXX. The motif may also occur in a tenth-century manuscript in Florence, Biblioteca Laurenziana, Conv. soppr. 160, fol. 114v. (Schiller, II, fig. 550). Here the Virgin clearly stands a foot or so off the ground, but the condition of the manuscript makes it difficult to determine exactly what supports her.

¹⁵²Millet-Frolow, III, pl. 44 (4).

¹⁵³The type appears almost exclusively in the last quarter of the Dugento. Examples include Guido da Siena's panel from Badia Ardenga (now Siena, Pinacoteca; Stubblebine, Guido, fig. 29; Garrison, Index, No. 669); a Florentine work in Berlin, Kaiser Friedrich Museum, much influenced by Guido (Stubblebine, Guido, fig. 91; Garrison, Index, No. 412); a panel by the St. Francis Master in Perugia (Garrison, Index, No. 44); the fresco by the same painter and the panel by his follower (on both see note 125)" a panel by the Faenza Master in Bologna, Pinacoteca (Garrison, Index, No. 664); a panel by a follower of Cimabue in Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum (ibid., No. 656); a panel from a Tuscan or Umbrian diptych, whereabouts unknown (ibid., No. 266), and the Venetian panel in the Berne Museum (see note 104). Another example of the scene appears at Assisi, Santa Chiara (ibid., No. 325), but is virtually indecipherable in Garrison's photograph. Among the few works which do not conform to this type is the Frick panel cited in note 140.

The footstool appears in the panels in Berlin, Perugia and Bologna. Guido varies the type slightly: in his composition the Virgin joins Joseph on the ladder. This variation is not necessarily his invention, however; it occurs on a late thirteenth- or early fourteenth-century bilateral icon from the Monastery at Serres (Peter Milković-Peppek, "Une icône bilatérale au Monastère de Saint-Jean-Prodrôme, dans les environs de Serres," Cahiers Archéologiques, 16 (1966), 177-83.

¹⁵⁴The Mystical Vine, ch. IX; de Vinck, Works, I, 175-76.

¹⁵⁵See Sticca, Latin Passion Play, p. 151; he describes this one as "particularly histrionic."

¹⁵⁶The difference in tone is especially interesting in light of Pseudo-Bonaventura's apparent reliance on Pseudo-Anselm for important aspects of his account; see note 86.

¹⁵⁷On the swooning Virgin see notes 66 and 67.

¹⁵⁸On this panel see Chapter V, pp. 180-81.

¹⁵⁹The Tree of Life, ch. II; de Vinck, Works, I, 129-31.

¹⁶⁰Ragusa and Green, p. 343; for other passages discussing her role in the Passion, ibid., pp. 307ff., 326, 335, 338ff., 346ff., 359ff., 364, 369, 371, 373, 376.

¹⁶¹Battisti, fig. 28. On her pose see Battisti, p. 51; he compares it with the gestures specified by a liturgical drama from Cividale. Another Crucifixion in which the Magdalen plays a prominent role is the panel at Yale by a close follower of Guido da Siena (Stubblebine, Guido, fig. 52). Here she clasps the base of the cross, anticipating her pose in Giotto's Arena Chapel.

Schiller (II, 154), discusses the importance of Mary Magdalen to the Franciscan Order and ascribes it to her penitential character; according to Schiller, "penitence plays an important part in Francis' veneration of the cross."

¹⁶²The hagiographic panel (Florence, Accademia) is the eponymous work of the Magdalen Master; Garrison, Index, No. 404, dates it 1280-85. On the Prato frescoes see Giuseppe Marchini, "Affreschi medievale del Dugento a Prato," Rivista d'Arte, 19 (1937), 163-69. The Guid-esque Descent in Berlin (see note 153) further attests to her extraordinary popularity: the Virgin still supports Christ's body, but here she is upstaged by Mary Magdalen, who now claims the honor of caressing Christ's face and pressing her cheek to His. Her primacy is even more explicit in Simone Martini's Descent in Antwerp (see note 125), in which she shoves ahead of the Virgin in her haste to embrace Christ. For other Trecento works featuring Mary Magdalen see Kaftal, pp. 718-19.

¹⁶³In addition to Franciscan piety, a second factor stimulated interest in Mary Magdalen: the discovery of her relics in 1279 (Kaftal, p. 718).

¹⁶⁴Ragusa and Green, p. 342.

¹⁶⁵Pseudo-Anselm: "the cross was large, fifteen feet long" (P.L., CLIX, 281); Pseudo-Bonaventura: "the cross was long, wide and very heavy . . . fifteen feet long" (Ragusa and Green, pp. 331-32).

¹⁶⁶"Croce, volglote pregare
Dalme un poco ch'io 'l m'abbraccio
O arbore alto, enchina 'l ramo
Ch'io tocco quil ch'io tanto amo."

Quoted by Sticca, Latin Passion Play, p. 151; this verse probably reflects the influence of the Acta Pilati, in which the Virgin pleads with the cross in very similar language to bend down (Donehoo, pp. 357-58).

¹⁶⁷Longhi, p. 7.

¹⁶⁸See notes 125 and 162.

¹⁶⁹Hartt, History, fig. 102

¹⁷⁰*Ibid.*, p. 297, fig. 359.

¹⁷¹*Ibid.*, fig. 716. Hartt, Michelangelo's Three Pietàs, p. 23, stresses the Eucharistic significance of the theme, and on p. 22 associates this work specifically with Fra Angelico's panel in Munich, in which the debt to the mid-Dugento Descent is clear; see fig. 136, p. 232 and note 104.

CHAPTER VII

THE BURIAL OF CHRIST

The last Passion scenes which appear on the painted crosses represent the denouement of the drama, the moments just before, and during, the burial of Christ. The Evangelists record these final events with the brevity that characterized their accounts of the Deposition. Matthew 27:59-61 states that Joseph wrapped Christ's body with a clean linen shroud, placed it in his own tomb, sealed the door and left. Mary Magdalen and "the other Mary" sat opposite the tomb but did not, apparently, assist in the burial. Mark's account (15:46-47) is virtually identical, although he identifies the second woman more specifically as Mary the mother of Joseph. Luke (23:53-56) alludes to the urgency with which Joseph acted, reminding the reader that the Sabbath, the day of rest, was at hand. John (19:38-42) differs somewhat from the synoptics. He omits any mention of the holy women and adds the minor point that the tomb was in a garden. More important is his reference to Nicodemus' presence. The second disciple brought spices--"myrrh and aloes, about a hundred weight"--with which the two men prepared Christ's body for burial.

The terseness of the scriptural accounts of Christ's burial belies the great importance which these moments assumed in later medieval art in general and in the painted crosses in particular. Something of the richness of this theme is suggested by the variety of guises in which it appears on the crosses. Several different

episodes, in fact, can be discerned. Not only the Entombment, in which Christ is lowered into the sepulchre, but scenes of preparation --the Anointing of the Body, the Bearing of the Body--also appear. Still another episode, the Lamentation, depicts not the mechanics of the burial but the profound grief of Christ's loved ones. But while a single specific action or moment can at times be identified, other scenes fuse elements of the various episodes into a single composition. This chapter will therefore treat this group of images as a single theme rather than attempt to impose distinctions which the painters themselves, apparently, often preferred to avoid.

If this iconographic richness suggests the importance of Christ's burial during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the frequency with which the scene is represented confirms it: no other Passion scene occurs as often. Of the fourteen crosses which have survived with a full narrative program of six or more scenes, a burial scene is omitted in only four cases.¹ Two of these are the early Pisan crosses, Pisa No. 15 and the San Frediano Cross, the iconographic peculiarities of which have been noted before.² A third is also Pisan, the archaizing Santa Marta Cross, which probably harks back to an early prototype.³ The fourth, the Sienese Tressa Cross, opts instead for a relatively unusual theme, the Descent into Limbo.⁴

On the other hand, even the sharply curtailed narrative cycles of the later Lucchese crosses often include the Entombment. It appears in both crosses by the San Michele Cross Master, his eponymous work still in situ in Lucca and the closely related cross recently returned to the Museo Civico, Villa Guinigi. The theme occurs, too, in the

slightly later cross in the Lucchese church of Santa Giulia. And despite the absence of burial scenes in two of the early Pisan crosses, as if in compensation two different moments of Christ's burial are depicted on Pisa No. 20.

Christ's burial first appears in Gulliellmus' Sarzana Cross (fig. 148), and here it is literally the Entombment which is represented. The body has already been prepared for burial and wrapped in the linen shroud, and Joseph and Nicodemus now lower it into a sarcophagus-like tomb. As in the Deposition, Joseph occupies the place of honor near Christ's head; Nicodemus supports His feet. The presence of both disciples conforms with the text of John, but the holy women who mournfully watch the burial recall the accounts of the synoptic Gospels. Gulliellmus had expanded upon the two women mentioned by the synoptics, however; five women crowd behind Nicodemus, while a sixth peers over Joseph's shoulder. Unexplained by any scriptural reference is the presence of the two most prominent figures, the Virgin and John. The Virgin stands in the center of the composition, gazes at her son's body, and extends both hands in a gesture that suggests resignation and acceptance more than grief. John, by her side, brings his hand to his face in the traditional gesture of sorrow.

Still more subdued are the Entombments on the next Lucchese crosses, the two works by the San Michele Master. These two versions are nearly identical; only insignificant details separate that on the San Michele Cross (fig. 149) from that on the cross in the Villa Guinigi (fig. 150). Again the moment represented is the Entombment itself, but now only the physical action of burial occupies those present;

even the expressions of grief seen in the Sarzana Entombment no longer occur. The only figures present, in fact, are those actively engaged in the burial; thus the Virgin, John and the holy women--the mourners in Gulliellmus' scene--are nowhere to be found. Only three figures participate in this stringently compact drama. In the center of the composition, occupying the position claimed by the Virgin in the Sarzana panel, is an elderly man wearing an elegant hat and holding a jar of ointment; his white beard and exotic attire suggest that he represents the wealthy Joseph. He no longer actually carries Christ, however, but merely presides over the burial, delegating the physical labor of this task to two younger men. These anonymous assistants--both clean-shaven, in contrast to the usually bearded Nicodemus--bend over Christ's body and lower Him into the tomb just as the Sarzana disciples did; the rolled-up sleeve of one of the workers (the man on the right in the San Michele Entombment, fig. 149) attests to the physical effort of their task.

But if the narrative itself has been pared to a minimum, this laconic terseness is compensated for by a remarkable elaboration of the setting. The tomb is adorned with an animated strigilation instead of the perfunctory diagonals on Gulliellmus' sarcophagus; it rests on pedestals and is surmounted by a domed ciborium rising from four spiral columns.

Much the same sort of architectural embellishment occurs in the last Lucchese Entombment, that on the Santa Giulia Cross (fig. 151). Again the sarcophagus is strigilated, though now deprived of pedestals, and again a ciborium surmounts the tomb. This ciborium is even

more complex than before; it is now equipped with an opening through which a hanging lamp can be seen, and two grill-like windows. The narrative, too, has expanded considerably. Though Christ is again being lowered into the tomb by two men--Joseph and Nicodemus now replace the anonymous assistants--far more than the mechanics of burial are represented here. One indication of the change appears in Joseph and Nicodemus, who seem less concerned than before with the efficient completion of their task. Now they pause, kneeling, and with veiled hands present Christ's body for our veneration. This reverent, almost liturgical tone is heightened further by the presence of two half-length angels above, whose gestures direct us again to contemplate Christ's body.

But if much about this panel suggests the solemn enactment of a ritual, the human reality of Christ's burial also comes through. First, Christ's body is no longer encased in a protective shroud but is only loosely draped, with arms and chest bare, and thus somehow still vulnerable. This new pathos is carried further by the actions of the Virgin and John. John's stance, with his hand to his face, recalls the traditional gesture of grief seen in his counterpart in Gullielmus' Entombment (fig. 148). But in contrast to the rather unfocused gaze of the Sarzana John, now the apostle bends toward Christ and sorrowfully studies His face. And the Virgin does not merely gesture toward her son, as she did in Gullielmus' panel, but raises His hand to her lips. In this cross, then, the Entombment has been elevated from a straightforward representation of Christ's burial

... ..

to something far more: both an expression of reverent worship and of human love and loss.

This exploration of the emotional content of the Entombment is still greater in early Florentine crosses. In Uffizi No. 432 (fig. 152), probably executed somewhat earlier than the Santa Giulia Cross,⁵ the Entombment has a dramatic power unapproached by the Lucchese works. Instead of discreetly kissing Christ's hand, the Virgin now lunges toward her son, throws herself upon Him and presses her face to His in an impassioned final embrace. This sense of urgency animates other mourners as well. A dark-haired, bearded man, perhaps Joseph, hastens to Mary's side and touches her shoulder in a futile attempt to console her. Nicodemus, who lowers Christ's body by means of a long winding cloth, bounds forward in his rush to complete the burial. Behind him a holy woman covers her mouth with her hand as if to stifle a sob-- another vivid, human touch which heightens the immediacy of the drama. Of all the major participants, only in the figure of John does this display of urgent action and powerful emotion subside. The beloved apostle, beardless and haloed, now actively takes part in the burial, lowering Christ into the tomb; only his huge, sorrow-filled eyes convey the depth of his grief.

The remarkable emotional power of this panel is not our painter's only contribution. In a surprising departure from the earlier versions, Christ is here swathed in a translucent shroud through which His limbs can clearly be seen. This burgeoning interest in the human body, already characteristically Florentine, is analogous to this master's interest in human emotion; it calls to mind the famous

translucent loincloth which will appear in Cimabue's Santa Croce Crucifix over a century later.⁶ Finally, a comparable exploration of space is suggested by the ciborium which surmounts Christ's tomb. This architectural embellishment recalls the ciboria which appeared in the Lucchese crosses (figs. 149, 150, 151), but the Florentine cross may antedate them. Whatever the chronological relationship, our painter endows the ciborium with a new monumentality, its wide expanse contrasting with its rather constricted dimensions in the Lucchese works. Thus the Florentine master, in this final composition, not only demonstrates again his special ability to convey human emotion. In his treatment of the ciborium and especially in the translucent shroud, we sense other facets of his awareness of the physical world--an awareness, admittedly tentative here, which foreshadows the achievements of the later Dugento.

In the Rosano Cross, so often associated stylistically with Uffizi No. 432, the Entombment (fig. 153) reveals a strong iconographic debt as well. Again the Virgin embraces Christ, holding Him at the shoulder and pressing her cheek to His. Again the bearded Joseph stands directly behind her, as two other men, whose haloes identify them as John and Nicodemus, hold the winding-cloth which supports Christ's body. And again a ciborium, though dwindling again in size, surmounts the tomb.

But if this painter has derived much of his composition from his fellow Florentine, he has not succeeded in capturing the impassioned spirit of his predecessor; in a number of ways this pleasant but pedestrian painter retreats from the former's emotional intensity. One

telling change occurs in the Virgin's stance: she no longer hurls her body over Christ's but simply reaches sedately for her son. Joseph, wearing an unexpectedly rakish toga, now does not rush to comfort the Virgin but proceeds methodically with the preparation of the body, folding Christ's arm across His chest. The man at Christ's feet no longer bounds; he is content to plod. And the anguished holy women have departed entirely. In only one detail, in fact, can this stolid panel be considered more progressive than the Uffizi version: now Christ's body is still more exposed and apparently vulnerable, for He wears only a loincloth.

Far more innovative is the treatment of Christ's burial on a roughly contemporary Pisan cross, Pisa No. 20. The first break with tradition is the fact that two separate panels describe the moments of this event. The first (fig. 154) does not represent the Entombment at all, for Christ's tomb is nowhere in sight; instead the artist records the preparation of the body and the grieving of the mourners. Preparations occupy the two disciples. Nicodemus, identifiable by the ornate robe which he wore during the Deposition (fig. 104), sits on a patterned stone slab and anoints Christ's body with his right hand; with the other he holds the jar of unguents that he contributed to Christ's burial. Joseph, now relegated to Christ's feet, supports them with his left hand and extends the shroud with his right.

But these acts of preparation are secondary; the composition is dominated by the grieving of the mourners, which unfolds in a steadily building progression. At the far right stand three holy women, gesturing in muted sorrow. Closer to Christ, bent with grief, is John.

With his gaze fixed on Christ, he raises his veiled hands to his face in a variation on the traditional mourner's gesture, which now suggests an attempt to wipe away tears. But the crescendo of feeling reaches a peak in the last farewell of the Virgin. She bends over Christ's body and presses her cheek to His in the now familiar caress, but here a new intimacy is allowed the bereaved mother: she actually supports her son's body, holding Him in her lap. Above, silhouetted against the gold ground, angels echo the slowly descending arc traced by the heads of the mourners. Despite the emotional content of this panel, then, this master's refinements of line and pattern soften the pain of the burial, resulting in a tableau of bittersweet poignancy quite different from the anguish and urgency of the Uffizi Entombment (fig. 152).

The Entombment itself is represented in the second scene of the burial cycle (fig. 155), and here the expression of grief is almost entirely subordinated to the depiction of the physical process of carrying out the burial. Christ's body has been shrouded in linen and covered again in a patterned fabric, and now Joseph and Nicodemus lower Him into the tomb. The disciples have returned to their traditional stations, Joseph at Christ's head and Nicodemus at His feet. The Virgin bends over her son, but no longer touches Him; instead she merely gestures, hands outstretched, with the muted emotion seen in Gullielmus' panel (fig. 148). John stands beside her, echoing her bending stance and gesture of resignation. Behind him are two holy women, still maintaining a respectful distance from Christ; two others, on the far left, mirror their stances. Above all the mourners is a ciborium, familiar from most of the earlier examples but here

shown with new complexity and delicacy, rising from nine elongated columns to a dome flanked by two half-domes and crowned by a cupola.

Well before the middle of the Dugento, then, artists saw in the Entombment not only the preparations and process of burial but also the pain and grief of the Virgin, John and the holy women. We shall now see that the generation of painters active at mid-century generally expanded upon these expressions of sorrow, introducing new motifs and compositions to Italian art.

The first of this group to be considered is Enrico di Tedice. The Entombment on his San Martino Cross (fig. 156), and in the related scene on the Castellare Cross,⁷ in general recall such earlier types as those on Uffizi No. 432 (fig. 152) and the Rosano Cross (fig. 153). The lowering of Christ by two men (though clearly Joseph and Nicodemus here), the Virgin's last embrace, and even such a detail as the long cloth with which Christ is deposited all recur in both earlier works. And the ciborium above the tomb has appeared, in various forms, in every version of the Entombment since Gulliellmus'. Yet Enrico has not relied exclusively on these earlier formulations; in a number of ways, he asserts his quirky individuality. Most conspicuous of these new features is the prominent figure of Mary Magdalene, standing in the exact center of the composition and hurling her arms out in a dramatic display of grief. New, too, is the position of a second woman, inclining toward Christ's feet rather than His head. A third form, now badly damaged, seems to have been even more innovative: it bends violently as if to kiss Christ's feet. Unfortunately, however, so little has survived of this figure that it is impossible to decipher the exact

action with any certainty. Nor can its identity be certain, though John, who does not appear elsewhere, may have been intended.⁸

Enrico does not restrict his curious variations on traditional forms to the human figures; the sculptural and architectural structures also bear the stamp of this singular personality. Christ's tomb, for instance, has an unusual form of decoration; circles bordered by diamonds replace the more common patterns.⁹ Odder is the new type of ciborium: no longer domed, as in each previous example, it now has a flat roof terminating in crenellations. Oddest of all are the two towers which flank the ciborium; much like the incongruous pair which appeared in his Deposition (fig. 107), one is domed, the other gabled, and both are draped with swags.

Florentine crosses produced around mid-century carry the innovative tendencies seen in Enrico farther still; in both Uffizi No. 434 and Coppo's San Gimignano Cross, the burial scene bears little resemblance to earlier versions. That in the Uffizi cross (fig. 157), in fact, represents an entirely different conception of Christ's burial. No longer is Christ being lowered into a sarcophagus; instead a sort of cortège appears, in which Joseph and Nicodemus carry the body into a door cut into a rock outcropping--the "rock-cut tomb" of scripture. Close behind the two disciples follows a tightly massed crowd of mourners: John, the Virgin and a group of holy women. All are bent with grief; the agitated movement of the rocks at their feet mirrors their distress. But their grieving remains restrained; no grandiose gestures or urgent embraces break the solemn, dirge-like movement of the funeral procession.

Still more radical a change appears a decade or so later, in Coppo's San Gimignano Cross (figs. 158 and 159). At first glance the composition seems familiar enough; Christ's extended body and the Virgin's embrace have appeared many times before. And yet Coppo's scene, like the first burial scene on Pisa No. 20 (fig. 154), is not an Entombment at all, for the tomb itself does not appear. Like the Pisan master, Coppo describes a moment before Christ was interred, probably shortly after His body was removed from the cross. Unlike the Pisan panel, however, no one here is occupied with the details of burial: no one anoints the body, no one prepares the shroud. Instead all grieve without interruption or distraction; this moment of pure mourning, undiluted by genre activity, is the Lamentation of Christ, and Coppo's is the first pure Lamentation to appear on a painted cross.

As in earlier works, the Virgin's role is central. She seems to throw herself over her son, to embrace Him with a ferocity that is closer to the urgency of Uffizi 432 than to the tenderness of Pisa 20. A new detail heightens the fierce passion of her embrace: she encircles His head with her right hand, pulling His face tightly to hers. Just above the Virgin, no longer relegated to the periphery of the picture, are the holy women. One raises veiled hands to the face; the other--the red-robed Magdalen¹⁰--is still more expressive, seeming to tear at her cheeks in her anguish. Next to the Virgin is the hunched form of John, his face, like his body, contorted in grief. Finally, the two disciples, at last released from their traditional task of holding the body, are now free to mourn openly. Joseph, bent

in sorrow, kneels on the rock slab which supports Christ and gestures in despair; Nicodemus, standing behind him, echoes his gesture.

Coppo's unerring eye for detail only increases the power of the scene. Christ's body is no longer cradled in His mother's lap, no longer shrouded, no longer settled into the tomb. Now, covered by the skimpiest of loinclothes (contrast those in the Rosano Cross or Pisa No. 20, figs. 153 and 154), He lies rigid and exposed on the cold stone; not even the usual linen sheet shields Him from this harsh surface. The rock outcropping behind--probably a reference to the cave in which He would be entombed--does nothing to soften the stark power of the image; its jagged edges shimmer like knife blades against the gold ground.

Even in the hands of the gentler Salerno, Coppo's conception of Christ's burial seems at first to have lost little of its power. Salerno's Lamentation (fig. 160) reveals a close and faithful study of his father's scene; the composition itself, the placement of the figures, their stances and gestures, are nearly identical. But a careful comparison of the two shows that Salerno has subtly altered Coppo's scene and thus tempered its raw intensity. Thus he lessens the crowding of the figures, allowing them a bit of breathing room and easing the claustrophobic tension and compression of his father's work. He is equally considerate of Christ, protecting Him from the bare stone with a generous expanse of cloth. And he frames the scene with a great mountain whose harmoniously curving contour seems almost mellifluous after the spiky forms of Coppo's. Thus this final Passion scene, as interpreted by father and son, only makes clearer the pronounced

differences in temperament which separated them; the recent suggestion that Coppo himself painted the Pistoia Lamentation¹¹ seems difficult to reconcile with the comparative mildness of that scene.

This survey of Christ's burial from the earliest of the crosses to one of the last thus shows a gradual progression in which the grief and anguish of the mourners is steadily heightened until it finally dominates the entire image; what was at first the primary action, the burial itself, becomes increasingly deemphasized and finally disappears entirely. What sort of works inspired these painters in their selection of images? It can be shown that the Entombment conforms with the pattern of development which most of the Passion scenes followed: the earlier artists relied for the most part on Western prototypes, while at mid-century an increased interest in Byzantine models led to the adoption of new types, probably directly inspired by the East. The various sources of our artists can be fairly easily shown, in part because the Entombment and Lamentation have been the subjects of thorough scholarly attention; none of the earlier scenes have been examined as often or as successfully. Millet, and more recently Weitzmann, have described the evolution of the Byzantine Entombment and Lamentation, or Threnos, in convincing fashion,¹² and a great many writers have commented upon the various types found in Northern Europe.¹³ As for the development of these themes in Italy, and in the painted crosses in particular, Sandberg-Vavalà's conclusions some fifty years ago can scarcely be faulted today: "Influssi romanici predominato sino circa il 1220; e poi influssi bizantini fino a tutta la durata della croce storiata."¹⁴

But despite this scholarly interest, aspects of the iconography of Christ's burial remain only incompletely understood. Long debated are the issues of "Eastern" versus "Western" iconographic types and the reasons behind their differences; as both types occur in our crosses, an examination of this problem, aptly deemed "complex et non resolu,"¹⁵ seems appropriate. Virtually overlooked, on the other hand, is another important point: the connection of scenes from the burial cycle with the Crusades. It will be shown that the popularity of these scenes on painted crosses at exactly the time that Crusading zeal pervaded the West is probably no coincidence: the Holy Wars not only stimulated interest in these biblical events but affected their iconographic depiction in specific ways. Only after examining these problems will we be in a position to turn to the painted crosses themselves and to fill in the broad strokes of Sandberg-Vavalà's conclusions, to specify with greater precision the "influssi romanici . . . e bizantini" which these painters undoubtedly felt.

The Entombment in Byzantium and the West: "Eastern" and "Western" Types

Virtually every writer who has examined the Entombment in East and West has noted fundamental differences between the two. Almost without exception it is observed that the earliest Byzantine representations, such as that in the ninth-century Khludov Psalter (fol. 87r,; fig. 161),¹⁶ depict the two disciples carrying the body of Christ to the rock-cut tomb described by the Evangelists. In the West, however, this rock-cut tomb only rarely occurs; other structures replace it,

most typically a sarcophagus, as in the Egbert Codex, c. 890 (fol. 84; fig. 162).

It is primarily this difference in the type of tomb which led to other basic differences in the Eastern and Western modes of representation. These points, though less universally noted, have not been overlooked. Perhaps the clearest statement is the memorable description of Erwin Panofsky: "The Western representations of this subject are, quite literally, 'de-positions:' the body of Christ is lowered into the sarcophagus. . . . Byzantine art conceived of the Entombment as an act of propulsion rather than of lowering. The body is pushed into the grave much as. . . a loaf of bread is pushed into the oven; and it is, therefore, as a procession moving forward rather than as a 'de-position' that the Entombment was represented."¹⁷ The Western compositions thus tend to be, as Panofsky implies, rather static and symmetrical; in the Egbert Codex, as in the vast majority of Northern works, Joseph and Nicodemus face each other and bend over Christ's body, enclosing it visually like parentheses. But in Byzantine versions like that in the Khludov Psalter (fig. 161), one finds a suggestion of forward progression rather than symmetry and stasis;¹⁸ the disciples face the same direction, and their bodies do not enclose Christ's but intersect it.

But if the fact of these two distinct types has been accepted without reservation, the reason for their existence has not; specifically contested is the reason why Western artists replaced the rock-cut tomb with the sarcophagus. A wide range of explanations has been proposed. Millet, discussing the Entombment, suggested that Western

artists misread Byzantine representations of Christ on the Anointing Stone, a relic which was well-known in East and West during the Middle Ages.¹⁹ But Mâle found it "singulier . . . que l'erreur d'un ou deux copistes ait pu . . . devenir l'erreur de tout le monde" and offered a counter-explanation: the sarcophagus stems from liturgical drama, in which, in a reenactment of Christ's burial, the host was placed in a "sepulchrum"--presumably a rectangular, coffin-like receptacle.²⁰ Other factors have also been cited, with varying degrees of plausibility; especially pertinent is the observation that the two modes of burying Christ correspond to the actual customs of burying the dead in East and West.²¹ But recently a number of writers have been attracted to Mâle's suggestion of the influence of liturgical drama. Pächt, for instance, writes that "it was Western art, from the tenth century onward, which introduced the sarcophagus form of the tomb. This was in flat contradiction to the scriptural accounts, but evidently in accordance with the stage conventions of the liturgical Easter plays."²² Forsyth examines these plays and their probable setting in some detail and observes that a "sarcophagus-like trough" existed at Reichenau.²³ Elizabeth Parker finds Mâle's thesis concerning the relationship between art and liturgical drama "essentially true"²⁴ and echoes Mâle's dismissal of Millet's theory.²⁵

This recent enthusiasm for Mâle's thesis is in many ways understandable; if one examines the emergence of the Easter plays, especially the Depositio, in Western Europe one discovers an intriguing correspondence with the use of the sarcophagus in representations of the Entombment. According to Karl Young, the Depositio originated

during the tenth century,²⁶ and it was in Germany that the rite was most popular; the great majority of texts cited by Young are German.²⁷ It was at just this time and place that the sarcophagus begins to appear regularly in representations of the Entombment; Ottonian manuscripts such as the Egbert Codex (fig. 162) invariably represent Christ's tomb in this form, and Reichenau illuminators have, in fact, been credited with the invention of the type.²⁸ Thus the conclusion that these two phenomena--the emergence of the Depositio and of the sarcophagus-tomb--are not unrelated is tempting indeed. With Forsyth's reference to the "sarcophaguslike trough" at Reichenau, no less, the lure of the theory is almost irresistible.²⁹

But despite the appeal of this thesis, it should be approached with caution. A fundamental problem, only rarely acknowledged by adherents of the theory, is that the original shape of the sepulchrum is largely a matter of conjecture. As Elizabeth Parker points out, the early texts do not justify the assumption of a coffin-like receptacle: they "mainly stipulate the use of the altar itself, or a part of it, or a box and book arrangement set on it, rather than the sarcophagus-shaped Easter sepulchre of later use."³⁰ But if the existence of a sarcophagus-like sepulchrum seems questionable, Mâle's theory should not be dismissed entirely, but reconsidered in light of what indisputably served as a symbolic tomb: the altar itself. The simple rectangular tomb in Ottonian illumination (cf. fig. 162), though literally a sarcophagus, may have been figuratively understood as an altar. Not only did the altar signify Christ's tomb in the extra-liturgical rites described by Parker, it was viewed in exactly

this light in the daily enactment of the Mass. Though the association has a venerable history in Christian theology,³¹ it was probably not widely understood in the West until the ninth century, when Amalarius of Metz (780?-850) explicitly identified the altar as Christ's tomb and the celebrants of the Mass as the disciples Joseph and Nicodemus.³² Amalarius' writings, which became extremely popular not only in educated circles but also among the "simpliciores" of the Carolingian Empire,³³ may well have contributed to the emergence of the new, rectangular tomb which commonly appears by the end of the tenth century. In fact the often noted static solemnity of these Ottonian images--which continues to characterize later Northern Entombments³⁴--may well reflect the liturgical significance of the scene; the hushed and reverential mode of these works seems an appropriate expression of the solemn ritual of the Mass.³⁵

But if the intimate association of tomb and altar, both in the Mass and in extra-liturgical rites like the Depositio, may explain in part the rectangular tomb which Northern illuminators preferred to the rock-cut tomb of scripture, such theological factors, however relevant, do not fully account for the change. If Mâle was correct in associating Entombment iconography with liturgical drama, Millet's intuitive assumption that a misunderstood Byzantine model explains the sarcophagus tomb also deserves new attention. Though Millet points to other objects in his discussion of the Maries at the Tomb, in his analysis of the Entombment he identifies the Anointing Stone as the source of the confusion.³⁶ This object, also known as the Stone of Unction, is mentioned nowhere in the New Testament, but has been

venerated since Early Christianity as the slab on which Christ's body was laid as it was prepared for burial; the relic itself has moved from Jerusalem to Ephesus to Constantinople, and is now again in Jerusalem.³⁷ The veneration of the Anointing Stone gave rise to several images in Byzantine art. First is the Epitaphios, a representation of Christ extended on the stone which appeared on the embroidered liturgical shrouds, Epitaphioi, from which the image takes its name. In its purest form (as in an Epitaphios in Venice, c. 1200, fig. 163)³⁸ this image is strictly non-narrative, representing the timeless doctrine of the Eucharist.³⁹ Also known in Byzantine art, though extremely uncommon, is a narrative scene in which Joseph and Nicodemus prepare the body for burial; one example survives in an eleventh-century metal icon from Georgia (fig. 164).⁴⁰ The Anointing Stone also migrates into the Threnos proper; it may appear in an icon in the Hermitage (fig. 165)⁴¹ and is undoubtedly shown in a group of Paleologan frescoes (such as the example at Čučer, fig. 166).⁴²

The problem with identifying the sarcophagus in Northern Europe as a misunderstood Anointing Stone lies in the fact that none of the Byzantine images in which the stone appears greatly resembles the Western compositions which they allegedly inspired. The Epitaphios (fig. 163), where Christ is censured by attendant angels, seems only tangentially related to a narrative theme like that in the Egbert Codex (fig. 162), where the disciples lower Him into the tomb. The Georgian icon (fig. 164) does depict Joseph and Nicodemus burying Christ, but both the extreme rarity of this sort of image and the general compositional differences from the Western Entombments again tend to cast

doubt on the theory that such a work inspired them. Finally, the Threnos (figs. 165 and 166; cf. also the canonical Threnos, seen in Vat. gr. 1156, fol. 194v., fig. 167, or the fresco at Nerezi, fig. 168) shares even less with the Northern scenes; it is characterized, as Denny points out, by "assymetrical, dynamic, lateral movement," which contrasts with the static symmetry of the Northern images.⁴³ This is not to imply that such Byzantine types were unknown in the West; as will be seen, each left its mark on Western iconography. But it does seem clear that none of these images directly inspired the sort of Northern composition in which the sarcophagus first appears (fig. 162).

And yet Millet's assumption that it was from Byzantium that the sarcophagus tomb was derived seems fundamentally correct: in a few Byzantine representations, an object much like a sarcophagus appears. In an early thirteenth-century miniature depicting two women keeping watch at Christ's tomb (Berlin gr. qu. 66, fol. 95; fig. 169),⁴⁴ Christ's body rests in a rectangular coffin-like structure which in overall proportions and in the angle from which it is seen clearly resembles the Ottonian sarcophagus (fig. 162). In fact only the decorative detail on the Byzantine tomb--three arched apertures along the side--distinguish it from the Ottonian version. These arches are of more than passing interest, for they provide the key to identifying this curious object. In the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem, inside the cave in which Christ was buried, was a slab of stone described by pilgrims as a "holy bench" on which Christ's body lay. This funeral bench was covered in the eleventh century with marble

slabs, but this protective sheathing was pierced by three holes through which pilgrims could see and touch the stone itself.⁴⁵ The "holy bench," with its characteristic oculi, appears in much the same fashion in other Byzantine representations, such as a steatite in the Vatican Museum (fig. 170);⁴⁶ the same object, though without the three oculi, probably appears in a fresco in the crypt of Hosios Lukas, c. 1020 (fig. 171).⁴⁷ The fresco is of great interest to the debate on "Eastern" and "Western" types of the Entombment, for it depicts Christ being lowered--"de-positioned"--onto the sarcophagus-like bench by Joseph and Nicodemus. Though the Virgin has here joined the two disciples, the resemblance between this composition and the characteristic Northern type (fig. 162) is unmistakable: in both the disciples, symmetrically posed, face each other as they reverently bend over the body of Christ and deposit it into the sarcophagus-like tomb.⁴⁸ It seems reasonable to suppose that the Hosios Lukas fresco, executed only forty years or so after the Egbert Codex, preserves a slightly later phase of the prototype which inspired the Ottonian illuminator; presumably in the earlier phase, the Virgin had not yet been interpolated into the original composition.

Thus the often-repeated assertion that a sarcophagus does not appear in Byzantine Entombments⁴⁹ seems misleading; if a sarcophagus, strictly speaking, does not occur, the funeral bench, which often looks very much like a sarcophagus, does. It was very probably such Byzantine models which explain the sarcophagus-like tomb which appears in the West. The process of transmission, and the metamorphosis of bench to sarcophagus, is even clearer if one compares a Byzantine

representation of Peter and John at the empty tomb (Laur. VI. 23, fol. 209v.; fig. 172) with an Ottonian representation of the same subject (Munich, Staatsbibliothek, Cim. 15713, fol. 7v.; fig. 173).⁵⁰ In both a coffin-like object protrudes from the arched opening of the tomb, but the meaning of the two is different. In the Byzantine illumination, the structure in question is deprived of its identifying oculi, but it seems again to represent the funeral bench, which Christ lay upon rather than in; though the marble sheathing extends a bit beyond the top of the bench, forming a shallow enclosure, the dark smooth surface beneath suggests a solid mass.⁵¹ But in the Ottonian work, the solid stone has been transformed into a hollow, deep sarcophagus: Peter stands inside it as if to search for the missing body. Exactly why these Ottonian artists interpreted the bench as a sarcophagus is difficult to say; the Western familiarity with the sarcophagus tomb may have influenced them. Whatever the explanation for this change, it seems clear that the new form of the tomb, and the entire "Western" type of the Entombment (fig. 162), owes a great deal--far more than previously believed--to a Byzantine image.⁵²

The Entombment and the Crusades

But if Byzantium provided the major visual sources for the iconography of the Entombment in the West, a particularly Western phenomenon also left its stamp: the Crusades. This extraordinary movement had a two-fold impact on the depiction of Christ's burial in the West. The first was to elevate the theme from an infrequently depicted

narrative scene to a subject of considerable importance. During the tenth and eleventh centuries, representations of the Entombment, especially in Northern Europe, were for the most part confined to densely illustrated manuscripts like the Egbert Codex (cf. fig. 162); it was only in the twelfth century that the theme became commonly depicted. Not only does it move from manuscript illumination to large-scale media, especially fresco and sculpture, but at times it receives unprecedented attention: thus at Saint-Savin-sur-Gartempe, which is exactly contemporary with the launching of the First Crusade, three separate representations of the Entombment appear.⁵³ The new prominence of the theme in Northern Europe is matched by its importance in Tuscany, specifically on the painted crosses; as stated earlier, no scene appears more frequently, and even the curtailed narrative cycles of the Lucchese crosses include it.

Though the relative rarity of the Entombment before the twelfth century and the proliferation of examples after that point has been at times noted,⁵⁴ the reason for the new interest in the theme has never, to my knowledge, been examined. It seems to me likely that this iconographic phenomenon, like others before it, can be traced to the Crusades.⁵⁵ It was, of course, the goal of this movement to free the Holy Land from the Turks, but perhaps paramount was the protection of Christ's tomb. This most precious of Christian sites had been attacked in the early eleventh century by a Fatimid caliph, and the memory of this act of sacrilege, as well as the new danger posed by the Seljuk Turks, led to the launching of the First Crusade in 1095.⁵⁶ Urban II, in his sermon at Clermont, described the desecration of the Holy Places

in vivid detail, but singled out the threat to the Holy Sepulchre as the most alarming: "You should especially be aroused by the fact that the Holy Sepulchre of the Lord our Savior is in the hands of these unclean people."⁵⁷ He again mentioned the site by name, exhorting his listeners to "Begin the Journey to the Holy Sepulchre!"⁵⁸ "Holy Sepulchre" became, in fact, the war-cry of those who took the cross;⁵⁹ and when the Crusaders succeeded in establishing their kingdom at Jerusalem in 1099, the ruler took the title, "Advocatus Sancti Sepulchri."⁶⁰

Despite the success of the First Crusade, the Holy Land was threatened again in 1144 when Zenghi took Edessa, and a second mission of rescue became necessary.⁶¹ Now the preaching of the Crusade was entrusted to Bernard of Clairveau, and in the thought of this eloquent leader Christ's tomb takes on still greater importance. He refers often to the imminent danger not only to the Holy Land but specifically to Christ's tomb. Thus, to Duke Wladislaus and the people of Bohemia he wrote: "They will violate the couch [i.e., Christ's funeral bed] on which our life fell asleep in death"⁶² and to the English people he again expressed his concern for Christ's tomb, stating that it was for this site that he most feared: "They have cast their greedy eyes on the holy sanctuaries of the Christian religion, and they long particularly to violate that couch on which . . . the Lord of our life fell asleep."⁶³ Even when Bernard was not overtly exhorting potential Crusaders, his involvement with the Crusade, and his special concern for Christ's tomb, is still deeply felt. Thus it is in a work of devotional writing, the Meditatio in Passionem et Resurrectionem Domini,⁶⁴ that the connection between the Holy War and the historical

event of Christ's burial becomes explicit: "Let us admire, and better yet, emulate, the glorious sojourn of the blessed ones. . . Joseph . . . and Nicodemus Jesus loves such ministers of His tomb, who boldly rescue His body from the control of the shadows. . . ." So that his meaning is not mistaken, he continues by referring to the Turks: "Behold the funeral bed . . . the strong ones surround it, all brandishing swords, all highly skilled in warfare. . . . Woe to the sinners, Lord, besieging your tomb!"⁶⁵

It would thus seem that the new importance of the Entombment during the twelfth century, both in Northern Europe and in Italy, might reflect this heightened concern with the endangered Holy Places and especially with the holiest site of all, Christ's tomb. In fact, specific aspects of twelfth-century Entombment iconography, all of which will recur in our painted crosses, seem to have originated with the Second Crusade. Bernard himself may have been partially responsible for a common element of Western Entombments, the three oculi which appear on Christ's tomb. This motif, which becomes popular in the second half of the twelfth century (cf. figs. 174 and 183),⁶⁶ is still at times misinterpreted as a casual decorative device;⁶⁷ it actually refers to the openings on Christ's funeral bed, the "holy bench" described by pilgrims.⁶⁸ This relic was almost certainly seen by the leaders of the Second Crusade, who toured the Holy Places in Jerusalem in 1146,⁶⁹ and it seems to be precisely this object to which Bernard refers, again and again, in his writings. Repeatedly he mentions Christ's lectulus: a term which specifically means "funeral bed or couch."⁷⁰ In the letters to the Duke of Bohemia and the English

people, cited above,⁷¹ it is the lectulus which he names instead of the sepulchre, and he uses the same term a number of times in his Meditatio.⁷² There can be little doubt that when Bernard used this term, instead of "sepulcrum," he intended to refer specifically to the "holy bench" enshrined in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre.

Now it is at precisely the time and place that Bernard was preaching that the three oculi which existed on the actual lectulus in Jerusalem begin to appear in burial and resurrection scenes. Perhaps the first instance in the twelfth century occurs in the capital frieze of the Royal Portal at Chartres (fig. 174), executed between 1150 and 1155.⁷³ Bernard himself delivered a stirring sermon at Chartres in May, 1150, not long after the Crusaders' defeat at Damascus.⁷⁴ Despite this setback, Bernard's Crusading zeal was undaunted; he urged the crowd at Chartres to embark on another expedition to the Holy Land. Thus the capital at Chartres, which specifically depicts Christ's funeral bed, may well allude to Bernard's eloquent evocation of the holy sites of Christendom and especially to the one most precious to him. In fact, though it has not been interpreted in the contest of the Crusades before, the entire Passion sequence in which the Entombment appears at Chartres vividly represents the threat to the Church and the need for immediate action; it may well echo Bernard's address.⁷⁵ The oculi also appear at Saint-Gilles-du-Gard, in a relief of the Maries at the Tomb which was probably completed just after the Chartres relief.⁷⁶ Saint-Gilles, too, has close connections with the Second Crusade; other scenes there similarly allude to it and to themes which commonly occur in the writing of St. Bernard.⁷⁷

Other aspects of Entombment iconography which also emerge at mid-century, and which will also migrate to our painted crosses, are likewise related to the Second Crusade and the preaching of St. Bernard. The Anointing of Christ, a theme which is all but unknown in the West before about 1150,⁷⁸ becomes frequently depicted after that date; among the earliest examples are the relief at Chartres, c. 1150-55 (fig. 174), where Joseph originally held the vial of ointment; the closely related relief from Saint-Étienne, Dreux, c. 1150 (fig. 175);⁷⁹ and an illumination in the Winchester Psalter, c. 1150-60 (fol. 23; fig. 176).⁸⁰ It may, again, have been the thought of St. Bernard which lies behind this development. Bernard was fascinated with the subject of anointing in general; he devoted a number of entire sermons to the theme of oils and unguents, which serve as metaphors for Christian virtues, and refers repeatedly to instances of anointing in the Old and New Testaments.⁸¹ Thus in his Meditatio it comes as no surprise to find that he dwells on the unguents with which Joseph and Nicodemus anointed Christ. He stresses the protective qualities of the myrrh and aloes--they protect Christ's body from the attacks of worms--and then compares these spices specifically with those who protect Christ's body in the tomb: "For they [those who minister to the tomb] are indeed a kind of bitter herb, but removing corruptors. . . . They are about a hundred-weight who keep the body of Jesus safe, whole and intact in the tomb."⁸² Thus the analogy is explicit: just as the hundred-weight of spices preserves Christ's body from decay, so must the Christians of the twelfth century protect Christ and His tomb from the danger which threatened them.

The proliferation of images of the Anointing at mid-century, exactly when Bernard was exhorting the French to defend the Holy Places, thus may well reflect the thought of this great leader. As seen above, Bernard addressed Crusaders at Chartres, where one of the first of these scenes occurs (fig. 174); Dreux, where a second survives (fig. 175), was the home of another Crusader, Louis VII's brother Robert, who took the cross from St. Bernard,⁸³ and the probable owner of the Winchester Psalter, where the third appears (fig. 176), also had ties with St. Bernard, though indirect.⁸⁴ It is interesting to note that in all three, the number of attendants has increased from two (as in the Ottonian formula, cf. fig. 162) to three or four, all male; this sort of expansion has no scriptural basis whatsoever but does seem appropriate to the summoning of a crusade, when expanding the ranks of the enlisted would have been of utmost importance.⁸⁵ Finally, the Crusaders themselves seem to have left testimony that they viewed the Anointing of Christ with more than passing interest. They erected an inscription inside the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, close to Christ's tomb, which read:

With spice anointed, in this tomb Christ lies

By merit now the just to heaven may rise.⁸⁴

To sum up, then, it seems that any discussion of Entombment iconography in the twelfth and thirteenth century must recognize the relationship between this scene and the Crusades. It may well have been the launching of this movement that led to the marked increase in representations of the scene, and a number of iconographic changes which appear around 1150--the representation of the oculi on Christ's

tomb, the new interest in the anointing, and the increase in the number of male attendants--may spring directly from the Second Crusade and its most eloquent champion, St. Bernard.

The Entombment in Italian Art

The Sarzana Cross

With these basic points about the development of the Entombment in the West reasonably clear, one can now turn to representations of the scene on the painted crosses. Gulliellmus' very inclusion of the Entombment demonstrates again this painter's receptivity to new ideas; its presence in such a curtailed cycle as that on his cross points up again the growing importance of the theme in the early twelfth century.⁸⁷ If his inclusion of the scene suggests an awareness of ideas emanating from Northern Europe, an examination of the specific iconography will confirm it: it can be shown that Gulliellmus' composition (fig. 148) shares relatively little with its Italian predecessors, but has a great deal in common with contemporary Northern works.

Earlier Italian versions of the Entombment seem largely confined to South Italy and its sphere of influence; all are iconographically related. Most important of this group, which probably reflects the artistic activity in Desiderian Montecassino, are a panel from the Salerno Antependium (fig. 177)⁸⁸ and the fresco at Sant'Angelo in Formis (fig. 178).⁸⁹ In both of these, as in the other members of the group,⁹⁰ the Byzantine impetus which shaped the Cassinese revival is strongly felt in the depiction of Joseph and Nicodemus: they stand one behind the other and face the same direction, just as in the standard

Byzantine formula (cf. fig. 161). As a result each composition has a certain lateral thrust, which is balanced at Sant'Angelo by the bending Virgin.

Gulielmus, on the other hand, shuns this asymmetrical arrangement of the disciples, and instead places them facing each other so that they frame and enclose Christ's body rather than intersecting it. Despite the ultimate Eastern origins of this type (cf. the fresco at Hosias Lukas, fig. 171), it was widely diffused only in Northern Europe; Ottonian illuminators invariably depict the disciples in this fashion (as in the Egbert Codex, fig. 162). Thus Gulielmus' symmetrical placement of the two men--apparently unprecedented in Italy--reinforces the possibility of a Northern source.

This possibility reaches near certainty when one examines the other figures. In two other respects Gulielmus' scene differs from its Italian predecessors and from most Byzantine works as well. One is the remarkable proliferation of attendants in the Sarzana Entombment. Not only do the Virgin and John appear--of the earlier Italian examples, only the fresco at Sant'Angelo included them--so too does a profusion of additional mourners: one woman peers over Joseph's shoulder and five more crowd behind Nicodemus. Though the Virgin and John are of course standard fixtures in the Threnos, the additional mourners in Middle Byzantine iconography are generally limited to two or three holy women, and at this point in the development of the scene they remain inconspicuous, relegated to a distant corner (cf. the icon in the Hermitage, fig. 165).⁹¹ And in earlier surviving Italian instances, they are nonexistent. Thus the throng of mourners in Gulielmus'

composition tends to suggest both a non-Byzantine and a non-Italian source.

The second unusual aspect of the Sarzana Entombment is the relative aloofness of the Virgin. In the Byzantine Threnos, which had reached its canonical stage by the end of the eleventh century,⁹² the Virgin's love and grief are stressed by her tender embrace. The same sort of intimacy is suggested at Sant'Angelo in Formis (fig. 178), despite the unusual placement of the Virgin.⁹³ Gulliellmus' Virgin, by contrast, does not yield to these maternal impulses; she maintains a dignified distance from her son, and gestures in stoic acceptance.⁹⁴

But if neither the multiplication of mourners nor the Virgin's reserve occurs in earlier Italian works, parallels for both can be found in Northern Europe. In an English illumination, almost exactly contemporaneous with the Sarzana Cross (London, Victoria and Albert Museum, Ms. 661, c. 1140; fig. 179),⁹⁵ a similar crowd of attendants appears. Though they are male here rather than female, just as in Gulliellmus' composition one bends over Joseph's shoulder and a larger group clusters behind Nicodemus. The two versions are comparable, too, in the detachment of the Virgin, who stands over her son's body but does not embrace it, as well as in the symmetry of the two disciples. The miniaturist is thought to have derived his imagery in general from a Northern source,⁹⁶ and indeed one finds essentially the same iconography in a Northern manuscript which was executed only slightly later: the antiphonary from St. Peter, Salzburg, c. 1150 (fol. 631; fig. 180).⁹⁷ Here, too, anonymous mourners press in behind the men lowering Christ⁹⁸ as the Virgin stands above her son and gestures in

mented sorrow. Not only these points but the configuration of the mourners link the Lucchese and Salzburger works: in both four upright figures are followed by one bending over and a final group standing upright. Even stylistic details reinforce the similarities; compare, for instance, the treatment of Joseph's sleeve in each.

The two scenes are not identical, to be sure. In one point of divergence, Gullielmus has encased Christ's body in the spiralling folds of a shroud, while the Northern illuminator shows Him only in a loincloth. This spiralling pattern may be one Italian touch in Gullielmus' largely Northern composition; much the same sort of corkscrew folds occur earlier in Italy, as in the relief from the Salerno Antependium (fig. 177).⁹⁹ Another difference occurs in the role Gullielmus accords to St. John: he places the apostle rather than the holy women at the Virgin's side. This, too, may be attributable to Italy, as will be seen below.

Despite such differences, the Entombment in the Salzburg Antiphonary resembles Gullielmus' composition more clearly than any other example known to me; both, like the English miniature (fig. 179), probably reflect a formulation which emerged slightly earlier in Northern Europe, perhaps at Salzburg itself. The possibility that Gullielmus knew a Salzburger version of the Entombment is not surprising; models from Salzburg probably influenced two other Passion scenes on the Sarzana Cross, the Way to Calvary and the Deposition.¹⁰⁰ Interestingly, these appear on the cross directly above the Entombment; thus the entire right apron panel seems indebted to sources from this important center.¹⁰¹

A final point should be examined: the possible reason for Gullielmus' interest in the iconographic type which he chose. As stated above, the presence of the Virgin was not usual in earlier Italian Entombments; of the extant Italian versions, only the Sant'Angelo fresco includes her. Her prominence in the Sarzana Cross may reflect a burgeoning interest in her which especially characterized Lucchese devotion; among the first Western theologians to write at length about Mary's role in the Redemption was St. Anselm of Lucca (d. 1086).¹⁰² In fact two Meditations attributed to this Lucchese writer¹⁰³ characterize Mary's demeanor at the Entombment almost exactly as Gullielmus does. They describe the Virgin's grief at her son's death, but both then assure the reader that she composed herself, refrained from any unseemly show of sorrow, and staunchly looked ahead to Christ's Resurrection. One reads:

But the Lady maintained her resolve
 Keeping her firm faith, she despaired of nothing
 Indeed, she mourned properly, steadfastly. . . .¹⁰⁴

The second, remarkably similar, echoes:

Now the sweetest Virgin ceases weeping
 Behold, her grief for her son stops, is buried
 The day of rejoicing will follow soon
 On which He will rise from the dead. . . .¹⁰⁵

This emphasis on the Virgin's dignity and steadfast faith corresponds exactly to Gullielmus' conception of her. Interesting, too, is the role of St. John in one of the two texts:

Then he to whom the Lord had commended His Mother

That is, John, eased her sorrow

He went with her to the city of Jerusalem

And there cared for her well, as would her own son.¹⁰⁶

Thus, just as Guillielmus apparently rearranged his Northern source in order to place John at Mary's side, our Lucchese writer also reminds us of John's solicitous attention to the bereaved mother. So if, as it would appear, a Northern model inspired Guillielmus' Entombment, it also seems that his initial interest in this model and his modification of it in the placement of St. John may reflect the writings ascribed to a fellow citizen of Lucca, St. Anselm.

The San Michele and Museo Civico Crosses

Still more unequivocally Northern in inspiration are the next Lucchese versions of the Entombment, the two by the San Michele Master (figs. 149 and 150). Here the cast of characters has been drastically cut: the Virgin and holy women have been banished, and now only three men participate in Christ's burial. The central figure, possibly Joseph of Arimathaea,¹⁰⁷ holds a jar of ointment, and it is this detail which allows us to trace the Northern antecedents of the composition. It was shown above that the Anointing of Christ becomes common in Northern Europe after about 1150; characteristic of the new theme are the reliefs at Chartres (fig. 174) and Dreux (fig. 175), and the illumination in the Winchester Psalter (fig. 176). In each of these, as in most later representations of the Anointing,¹⁰⁸ one of the disciples is shown in the act of pouring the unguents over Christ's body; in the Lucchese panels, he merely holds the jar. This sort of subtle

reference to the Anointing does occur, however, in a manuscript from Helmarshausen, the Gospel Book of Henry the Lion (Collection of the Duke of Brunswick, fol. 74v.; c. 1175; fig. 181).¹⁰⁹ Here Joseph does not actually hold the jar, as in the Lucchese crosses; it appears instead just to the right. Still, the similarity between the two compositions is clear enough, and a comparison of other points underlines the kinship. In each two men lower Christ into the tomb as Joseph, in the center, presides. The disposition and stances of the participants are comparable. In each Joseph wears similar garb--a mantle fastened at the neck, a cap. Even the rolled-up sleeve of the man on the right in the San Michele Entombment (fig. 150) recurs in the Gospel book. It thus seems safe to assume that our Lucchese painter drew his composition from a Northern source, one which followed the unusual variant seen in the Gospel Book of Henry the Lion. Thus the San Michele Master, like Gulliellmus before him, seems to have been unusually receptive to transalpine models; and, like Gulliellmus, he selected a nearly contemporary model. This continuing reliance on German sources in Lucca is not hard to explain; throughout the later Middle Ages Lucca had extensive ties, both political and spiritual, with the Holy Roman Empire.¹¹⁰

But the San Michele Master adds to his transalpine source purely Italian details: in the strigilated sarcophagus and the ciborium resting on four columns, he reveals his familiarity with a longstanding South Italian tradition seen earlier in the panel from the Salerno Antependium (fig. 177) and the fresco at Sant'Angelo in Formis (fig. 178).¹¹¹ The ciborium probably alludes to the site of Christ's tomb

in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre; pilgrims' accounts of the shrine, or tegurium, which enclosed the rock-cut tomb describe it as a ciborium supported by columns,¹¹² and a contemporary Crusader seal (fig. 182), which depicts the shrine inside the church, conveys some idea of its actual appearance.¹¹³ The complex structure in the Gospel Book of Henry the Lion (fig. 181) similarly alludes to this site, though the Northern illuminator combines references to the inner shrine with references to the church proper.¹¹⁴ It is possible, in fact, that a model like this Northern Gospel book might have prompted the Lucchese painter to indicate similarly the actual architectural site of Christ's tomb, but that in its specific form he relied on an established Italian formula rather than on the less familiar structure in his Northern model.¹¹⁵ In any case, it is clear that the San Michele Master's strigilated sarcophagus and ciborium are indigenous to Italy, and may stem ultimately from Montecassino. The presence of Cassinese motifs in Lucca again makes historical sense; Montecassino had owned property in Lucca since the mid-eleventh century.¹¹⁶

The Santa Giulia Cross

A similar fusion of Northern and Italian types appears in the last Lucchese Entombment, that on the Santa Giulia Cross (fig. 151). The ciborium and strigilated sarcophagus, though traceable to South Italy, are by now well-established in Lucca. This painter does add details new to Lucca in the architectural setting--the grills and hanging lamp which can be seen through the apertures on the canopy. Both may allude to the actual site of Christ's tomb, specifically the

tegurium in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. Pilgrims' reports describe "screens of open iron-work" in the arcade around Christ's tomb and sanctuary lamps hanging down.¹¹⁷

More significant than these architectural embellishments are the innovations affecting the human figures. As noted above, the Santa Giulia Master adds new pathos in Christ's exposed body, and in the intimacy allowed the Virgin, who kisses Christ's hand. Yet the drama remains restrained: the Virgin's kiss suggests reverence more than maternal grief, and Joseph and Nicodemus seem involved in a religious rite rather than a burial: kneeling in worship, they present the body to the viewer, inviting us to worship as well. What lies behind the new conception of the scene?

In view of the earlier Lucchese painters' dependence on Northern types, it is not surprising to find Northern antecedents for the Santa Giulia Entombment as well. Christ's half-exposed body is ultimately Byzantine; it seems to originate with the rare scene of the Anointing (as in the Georgian icon, fig. 164) in which the disciples prepare to spread oils on Christ's bare chest. In many of the Northern examples of this theme (cf. figs. 174, 176) Christ is similarly shown: His legs are draped, but His chest, logically, is not. The partial nudity of this type apparently appealed to certain artists, who retained Christ's bare torso while discarding its iconographic justification, the oil-spreading; thus in Nicholas of Verdun's panel in the Klosterneuberg Altar, c. 1181 (fig. 183),¹¹⁸ the anointing does not appear, and Christ is placed into the tomb only half-shrouded. The Santa Giulia Master seems to have had this sort of model in mind.

Northern, too, is a rare antecedent for the Virgin's gesture of kissing Christ's hand. In this case the motif may not derive from Byzantium; when one of the mourners kisses Christ's hand in the Threnos, it is not the Virgin but John who performs this act of tenderness.¹¹⁹ But in the late twelfth-century fresco in the Cathedral of Winchester, Chapel of the Holy Sepulchre (fig. 184), the Virgin kisses Christ's hand much as she does in the Santa Giulia Entombment.¹²⁰ It may be significant that the English fresco also depicts the Anointing of Christ, though here Joseph anoints His legs rather than His chest, exposing the lower part of His body as well. An angel hovering above --still another motif found in Northern Entombments primarily when the Anointing is depicted¹²¹ --further suggests that this sort of scene served as a model for our Lucchese painter, who likewise places half-length angels above the human figures. Even the covered hands of the disciples in the Santa Giulia panel may derive from a Northern source; in the Entombment from the Klosterneuberg Altar (fig. 183), Joseph's hands are covered by the folds of the shroud.¹²²

It would thus appear that some Northern composition related to this group of images was known to the Santa Giulia Master, who incorporated much of it in his version of the Entombment. But the citing of such precedents does not explain the unusual liturgical flavor of the scene. It was seen in the previous chapter that a new veneration of Christ's body emerged in the early thirteenth century and that this cult grew in part from the new elevation of the host in the Mass.¹²³ The Santa Giulia Entombment may be an expression of this liturgical change, and of the cult of the Corpus Christi: the

exposure of Christ's body, the presentation of His body by the disciples, their kneeling stances, and their covered hands are readily understandable in the context of this new devotional practice. Even the Virgin's kiss of Christ's hand may allude to the sacramental meaning of the scene; the Eucharistic associations of precisely that gesture were examined in the discussion of the Descent from the Cross.¹²⁴

But if this new devotional practice seems to pervade the imagery of this panel, it is also worth noting that in some respects this Entombment is traditionally Lucchese. The Virgin's decorum is a case in point. By the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries, the period in which this cross was executed, Florentine and Pisan versions of the Entombment had introduced far greater passion into the scene: the Virgin bends over Christ's body (figs. 152 and 153) or cradles Him in her lap (fig. 154), and presses her cheek to His. Thus her restraint here, in defiance of this prevailing tendency to dramatize her grief, recalls her stoicism in the Sarzana Entombment and its literary analogue, the Meditations ascribed to St. Anselm of Lucca.¹²⁵ Such literary and visual precedents might also explain the prominence of St. John in the Santa Giulia panel. In contemporary works (especially figs. 152 and 153) it is sometimes difficult to distinguish the beloved apostle from the other male attendants, but the Lucchese painter leaves little doubt as to his privileged status, just as the Lucchese text stresses his special role as the Virgin's protector.

Uffizi No. 432

The Entombment on this Florentine cross differs radically from its Lucchese counterparts. Our painter abandons the Lucchese insistence on the Virgin's rigid control; now she gives full vent to her feelings and passionately embraces her dead son. What explains this startling change?

The notion of the Virgin's sorrow, and the specific expression of it in this embrace, are of course ultimately Byzantine; much the same sort of embrace characterizes the mature Threnos (see figs. 167, 168, 170). In general, though, the Threnos is only distantly echoed here. Our painter represents, first, a different moment: Christ has already been shrouded and is now being lowered into the tomb. The Threnos, in its canonical form, depicts the Virgin's bewailing well before this point: Christ, wearing only the loin-cloth in which He was crucified, has not yet been wrapped in the shroud, and the scene occurs outside the entrance to the tomb.¹²⁶ Another difference involves the action of St. John. In the fully developed Threnos (figs. 167, 168, 170), the disciple invariably kisses Christ's hand;¹²⁷ here he participates in the burial, lowering Christ, with the long winding cloth, into the tomb. Finally, the elaborate architectural setting of a sarcophagus crowned by a ciborium seems entirely unknown in Byzantine art.

Exactly the features which separate the Florentine composition from the Threnos do appear, however, earlier in the West. The ciborium has already been recognized as a trademark of South Italy, and the fresco at Sant'Angelo (fig. 178) clearly anticipates the Tuscan panel not only in the architectural setting but in the crisscrossed shroud

and, to an extent, in the Virgin's embrace. There, however, she supports Christ's head--a deviation from her usual stance in the Threnos¹²⁸--and John does not carry Christ but merely observes, wiping away tears. For a closer approximation of our Tuscan painter's model one must turn to an English manuscript, the St. Albans Psalter (fol. 48; fig. 185). Pächt has convincingly traced the English composition to an Italian prototype,¹²⁹ and it seems likely that a very similar prototype inspired the Florentine Entombment as well. The parallels in the two are striking. In both the Virgin embraces her son, bending over His body; this embrace in itself is sufficiently rare in the West at this date as to suggest a connection between the two works.¹³⁰ But the similarities continue. In both Christ is fully shrouded--not, however, in the thick cloth which appears in virtually every other twelfth- and thirteenth-century version of the scene, but in a remarkable sheer fabric through which His body can be seen.¹³¹ And in both John does not merely gaze at Christ, as at Sant'Angelo, but takes a more active role, lowering Christ into the tomb.¹³² Another detail shared by both works is the ciborium overhead. As stated above, this feature seems to originate in South Italy, and it is at least partially on the basis of the ciborium that Pächt traces the St. Albans Entombment (fig. 185) to an Italian prototype. But in the fresco at Sant'Angelo (fig. 178), Christ's sarcophagus is clearly shown to be directly under the ciborium; the column closest to the picture plane interrupts our view of the scene. But in the St. Albans Psalter and in the Uffizi panel, the entire ciborium has been set back a few feet, behind the sarcophagus, so that our view of the Entombment is unobstructed. A final detail

linking the two is the sanctuary lamp suspended from the ciborium in the St. Albans Entombment; though no lamp occurs at Sant'Angelo, three appear in the Florentine cross.

This series of correspondences between the two versions of the scene--including some, like the transparent shroud, apparently unique to these two compositions--thus strongly indicates a common source; the ciborium in both, and the strigilated sarcophagus in the manuscript, suggest that this prototype originated in Montecassino. And yet the two are not identical. Some differences, like the motif of the winding cloth in the Uffizi Entombment, may result from the Florentine painter's knowledge of other Western sources. The motif seems to have been derived from a Byzantine model like the icon in the Hermitage (fig. 165), in which Joseph and Nicodemus extend the shroud over Christ; in a manuscript from Salzburg, the Ashburnam Evangelistary (fol. 29v.; fig. 186),¹³³ the shroud has become a means of depositing Christ into the tomb, and in the Salzburg Antiphonary (fig. 180), the men lower Christ by grasping the ends of the shroud, now, as in Cross 432, conveniently elongated. In our cross, however, this elongated winding cloth is distinguished from the translucent shroud in which Christ is wrapped. Peter Comestor (d. 1180), writing about the time the cross was executed, also specifies the presence of two different clothes: he refers to a shroud, brought by Joseph, and a second cloth of white linen, brought by Nicodemus.¹³⁴

But more important than such details are the differences in tone and mood which separate the English and Florentine works. The Virgin in the St. Albans Entombment (fig. 185) is surprisingly decorous in

comparison with her counterpart in the Uffizi panel: in the manuscript Mary bends over her son, but does not yet press her cheek to His, while in the panel she presses not only her cheek but her entire body next to her son's. Other aspects of the Florentine composition--the springing stance of Nicodemus, the sorrowing women, Joseph's solicitous attention to the Virgin--widen the distance between the two; the English work seems increasingly subdued, almost staid, the Italian work increasingly charged with movement and emotion.

Interestingly enough, most of the points which separate the Uffizi Entombment from that in the St. Albans Psalter occur as well in the late twelfth-century Liber de Passione Domini attributed to Ogier of Trino.¹³⁵ As it was just this text which corresponded to a striking degree to another scene in the Florentine cross, the Deposition,¹³⁶ the relationship between text and image warrants close examination. The Liber de Passione is perhaps the first Western text which describes the Entombment almost entirely in terms of the Virgin's suffering. The concept of her grief can be traced to Eastern sources; first the Acta Pilati, Recension B, and later the writings of George of Nicomedia and Simeon Metaphrastes discuss her lament during Christ's burial.¹³⁷ George of Nicomedia's account seems especially closely related to the Byzantine Threnos: he describes Mary's embrace and specifies that her bewailing occurred when Christ was placed on the ground, before being wrapped in the shroud.

In the West, on the other hand, prolonged descriptions of Mary's grief during the Entombment are almost unknown before Ogier's Liber de Passione. Earlier writers, such as Bernard of Clairveau and Peter

Comestor, discuss the mechanics of Christ's burial--the anointing, enshrouding, and so forth--but do not even mention the Virgin's presence.¹³⁸ In the texts ascribed to St. Anselm of Lucca she is present and does mourn for her son, but soon ceases any unseemly display of grief and resumes her stoic self-control. But such notions of Mary's inner control and stalwart faith in her son's Resurrection apparently held little appeal for Ogier, who chose to impress upon his readers the magnitude of her grief rather than her ability to conquer it:

When the body was placed on the ground, Mary hurled herself on it because of her boundless grief and immense love, and remained there, as if dead. She remained at the head of her dead son, moistening His face with her tears; she was wrenched from within by deep sighs, and she kissed His brow, and cheeks and mouth and nose almost simultaneously. . . .

And certain holy women wept, and a few men. . . .

Joseph of Arimathaea, . . . who with Nicodemus removed Christ from the cross, . . . wrapped Him in a clean shroud with precious oils, and placed Him in a new tomb, with haste but also with reverence. . . . Mary wept bitterly near the tomb while Joseph and Nicodemus placed God in it. She wanted to be entombed with Him; she was desperate for her loved one, embracing Him with passion, kissing Him most tenderly. She cried, "Pity me, friends . . . do not put Him in the tomb so quickly. . . ; if you entomb Him, entomb me with Him. . . ." But they put Christ in the tomb as she wept bitter tears. . . . John approached. . . . Many, weeping, consoled her. . . .¹³⁹

Ogier begins, then, by describing Mary mourning her son just after He is placed on the ground--the moment of the Threnos, described similarly by George of Nicomedia. But in contrast to the Byzantine text, in the Liber de Passione she continues to weep and to embrace her son during the entombment itself--exactly as the scene is represented by Western artists like the Albani Master (fig. 185) and our Florentine

painter (fig. 152). But Ogier's text, in tenor and in details, seems especially close to the Uffizi Entombment. The descriptions of the Virgin's desperation, of her hurling herself on her son's body, certainly apply to the impassioned mother in the Italian panel far better than to her more restrained counterpart in the St. Albans Psalter. The references to the speed with which Joseph and Nicodemus acted might explain Nicodemus' bounding stance in the Uffizi scene; he springs forward in his haste to bury Christ. The holy women are mentioned by Ogier, and appear in the Florentine panel, though not in the manuscript. And the allusion in the text to the attempts to console Mary may correspond to Joseph's gesture of solace, placing a comforting hand on her shoulder. But the most interesting passage in Ogier's text is the culmination of the drama, in which the Virgin pleads to be buried along with her son. Could the Master of Cross 432, who represents Mary virtually climbing into the sepulchre, have known such a passage? Though it is difficult to interpret her pose with certainty, the possibility that our painter was aware of tracts like Ogier's should not be dismissed.

The Rosano Cross

The rather unambitious painter of this cross seems to have derived much of his composition (fig. 153) from the Entombment on Cross No. 432 (fig. 152). From the arrangement and action of the figures to the careful placement of the ciborium behind the sarcophagus, this painter presents us with a generally faithful, if somewhat diluted, interpretation of the earlier work. Other than his revealing

modification of the Virgin's embrace--she no longer seems to climb into the sepulchre, but merely bends over her son--the only significant iconographic change is the elimination of the shroud enveloping Christ: now He wears only a loincloth. This detail is traceable to the Threnos (cf. figs. 167, 168, 170); as early as the eleventh century, Byzantine artists represent Christ stretched on the ground before being wrapped in the shroud.¹⁴⁰ But well before the Rosano Cross, this poignant image of a newly vulnerable Christ had been introduced to the West; we have already encountered it in the Salzburg Antiphonary (fig. 180). Thus nothing innovative of any significance seems to have been introduced by this painter; he seems content to draw from the repertoire of established Western motifs.¹⁴¹

Pisa No. 20: The Lamentation

This remarkable cross is unique among the surviving crosses in including two scenes from the burial cycle. The first (fig. 154) is itself most unusual: it combines the Byzantine Threnos with the Western Anointing of Christ. As in the Threnos, the subject of the scene is not the actual entombing of Christ: the tomb is not even present. Instead, the artist represents the Virgin's last farewell to her son. Here Mary does not simply bend over Christ, but holds Him in her lap. This important new development, which anticipates the intimacy of the Pietà, is extremely rare in the West before its appearance here;¹⁴² it clearly derives from the Threnos, where it appeared as early as the eleventh century (as in Vat. gr. 1156, fig. 167).¹⁴³ Closer to the Pisan panel, however, is an example like the ivory in Constance (fig.

110); there the Virgin is not sitting on the ground, as in Vat. gr. 1156, but is shown in a curious stance in which her entire right leg is visible, not only her bent knee.¹⁴⁴ In the Pisan panel her position is less ambiguous--she is clearly seated--but the view of her leg is much the same. In other respects, too, the Pisan panel especially resembles the ivory. Compare the unusual position of Joseph, who bends as he supports Christ's feet, but does not bow in proskynesis as is customary in the fully developed Threnos (cf. figs. 167 and 168).¹⁴⁵ Equally uncommon is the full-length angel who hovers above in each. Though angels often appear in the Threnos, they are almost invariably bust-length or half-length; only rarely does the entire form of the angel appear.¹⁴⁶ Though the Pisan artist added two others, also facing left, the stance of the angel nonetheless almost exactly duplicates that of the counterpart in the ivory. In one respect, however, our painter seems to have followed a different Byzantine model: here John does not embrace Christ's hand, as in the ivory and the great majority of Threnoi, but merely gazes sorrowfully at Christ. This posture does occur, though exceptionally, in the Threnos; one example appears in a badly damaged fresco at Egina (Palaeochora, Omorphi Ecclisia; fig. 187).¹⁴⁷ Most of the uncommon features found in the Pisan panel--the stance of the Virgin, the full-length angel, the half-arrested pose of Joseph, the relative aloofness of John--point to an early phase of the Threnos, before it had reached the codified form which it usually takes in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. It may be that our painter had somehow acquired a tenth- or eleventh-century version of the theme, or, more likely, that he worked from an

approximately contemporary model which preserved an earlier form; such archaizing has been described by Weitzmann as characteristic of the early thirteenth century.¹⁴⁸

But if the Pisan master derived much of his composition from a Byzantine Threnos, he nevertheless altered his model considerably. One detail which probably did not appear in his source is the grouping of the holy women to the right behind Joseph and Nicodemus. In Byzantium they are placed, almost invariably, on the opposite side of the composition: they crouch behind rock formations, or Christ's tomb (cf. the Hermitage icon, fig. 165), or, later, move closer to Christ and stand behind His head (as in the fresco at Čučer, fig. 166).¹⁴⁹ In placing them behind Joseph and Nicodemus, our Pisan painter may have followed a local Tuscan custom; Gulliellmus (fig. 148) similarly grouped the holy women on the right. But aesthetic considerations as well seem to have influenced our painter: in their placement behind Joseph and Nicodemus, the holy women complete a gradually descending arc, echoed by the angels above, that culminates with the heads of Mary and Christ.¹⁵⁰

But the major point of divergence from Byzantine iconography is the fact that our painter represents not only the Lamentation but also the Anointing of Christ: Nicodemus smooths oils on Christ's body as Joseph prepares the shroud. This synthesis is, to my knowledge, unique, without precedent in East or West. Rare images of the Threnos do include references to the preparation of Christ's body for burial: a jar of ointment appears at Nerezi (fig. 168), and the icon in the Hermitage (fig. 165) depicts the enshrouding of Christ as well as the Virgin's embrace. And the Stone of Unction is featured in a group of

Paleologan images, such as the fresco at Čučer (fig. 166). But in none of these does the anointing as such appear; in general such genre activities seem almost antithetical to the spirit of the Threnos, with its concentration on the mourning of Christ.

In the West, as seen above, the Anointing occurs commonly from about 1150 on; the relief at Chartres (fig. 174) is characteristic of these images. But these Northern scenes are also fundamentally different from the Pisan panel: there is no suggestion of the Virgin's grief, and indeed in most she is not even present. Further, in many of these the anointing takes place on the lectulus, Christ's funeral bench, as the characteristic oculi show; not only are the oculi absent from the Pisan panel, but the object on which Christ lies is no longer a rectangular bench but a distinctly boulder-like stone.

These differences suggest that the Pisan painter did not intend to represent the lectulus in Jerusalem at all but another relic, the Stone of Uction in Constantinople. This object, brought from Ephesus to the Byzantine capital in 1169,¹⁵¹ could well have been known to a Pisan artist; Pisan merchants founded a colony in Constantinople in 1111, and the colony flourished during the second half of the twelfth century.¹⁵² The relic was unquestionably known to a second group of Westerners who entered Constantinople slightly later: the members of the Fourth Crusade. Robert of Clari, the chronicler who recorded the expedition, tells his readers: "In this abbey [the Church of the Pantocrator] there was a marble slab on which Our Lord was laid when He was taken down from the cross."¹⁵³

Thus Western exposure to the Anointing Stone--possibly through Pisan colonists in Constantinople, and definitely during the Fourth Crusade--may account for the prominence of the new motif in Pisa No. 20. In fact the Anointing Stone itself may explain our painter's unprecedented fusion of the Anointing and the Lamentation. The stone, of red marble, apparently was shot with streaks or flecks of white; these came to be explained as the marks of the Virgin's tears, which splashed on the stone as she wept over Christ's body. This imaginative account appears in a Byzantine text of the late twelfth century,¹⁵⁴ and it was duly reported to the Crusaders who sacked Constantinople in 1204. Robert of Clari continues: "[on the stone] there could still be seen the tears which Our Lady let fall upon it."¹⁵⁵ The legend was quickly incorporated into Western devotional texts: the Liber de Passione by Ogier of Trino (d. 1210) describes Mary weeping over the body of her son, "which was stretched out on a stone, moistened with her tears; even now her tears can be seen there."¹⁵⁶

This legend, then, which originated at the Anointing Stone itself, seems to lie behind the singular iconography of the Pisan panel, in which the Virgin weeps over Christ as He lies on the Stone of Unction. The fact that Nicodemus actually anoints Christ's body here--perhaps for the first time in Tuscan painting¹⁵⁷--may reflect our painter's desire to identify the stone as clearly as possible as the relic in Constantinople. Exactly how our painter learned of the legend cannot be determined; possibilities include the Pisan colonists in Constantinople, the members of the Fourth Crusade, or a text like the Liber de Passione. But the absence of any exact parallel for this

scene suggests that the Pisan panel may be an original formulation, our painter's own interpretation of this pious tradition.¹⁵⁸

Pisa No. 20: The Entombment

As extraordinary as the iconography of the Lamentation is our painter's inclusion of a second scene from the burial cycle, the Entombment (fig. 155). This combination is unknown in Byzantine art; Weitzmann stresses that Byzantine Passion cycles depict one or the other, but that the two "never occur side by side."¹⁵⁹ In the West, more than one scene of this cycle does occur, though exceptionally, in densely illustrated manuscripts, but in no other work known to me is the Lamentation among the scenes depicted.¹⁶⁰

But if the appearance of the two scenes is unprecedented, the iconography of the Entombment itself is not; on the contrary, our painter here follows an established Tuscan formula. In the placement and attitudes of all the major figures, the Pisan master has virtually duplicated Gullielmus' composition (fig. 148); though the Pisan imbues his figures with a grace and fluidity absent in the stiffer Lucchese forms, this difference does not negate the close iconographic relationship between the two. Most telling is the stance of the Virgin on the Pisan cross. Now, in contrast with the tender embrace seen in the Lamentation on this cross, and in earlier Italian Entombments as well (cf. figs. 152 and 153), she holds her feelings in check, only gesturing in quiet acceptance. The identical restraint, even the identical gesture, occurred in Gullielmus' Entombment. Perhaps, then, the Pisan painter drew inspiration from this work, or from a similar

Lucchese composition; unlike most Italian Entombments, it provided an image of the muted grief with which our painter chose to conclude the burial cycle.¹⁶¹

Unlike Gulliellmus, however, the Pisan crowned his composition with an elaborate architectural structure, a complex variant of the ciboria familiar in earlier Tuscan works, both Florentine (figs. 152 and 153) and Lucchese (figs. 149 and 150). This structure, consisting of a central dome buttressed by two smaller domes and resting on nine columns, may have been partially inspired by earlier Italian models. In the St. Albans Psalter (fig. 185), which itself reflects an Italian prototype,¹⁶² a similar tripartite ciborium appears. This conception of the ciborium may derive from schematic representations of the church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem; the Crusader seal discussed above (fig. 182) represents both the church and the tegurium within as tripartite.

Other aspects of the ciborium in the Pisan panel also seem to reflect the artist's desire to refer to this holy site in Jerusalem. Thus the Pisan master, unlike his predecessors, equips the ciborium with a small cupola. A similar structure appears atop the shrine in the Crusader seal, and pilgrims' accounts of the late twelfth century confirm that a "cup-like dome" surmounted the shrine in Jerusalem.¹⁶³ A final aspect of the Pisan ciborium may spring directly from these accounts, for it occurs in no other pictorial record known to me: the multiplication of columns supporting the structure. Contemporary pilgrims describe a number of columns--sometimes eight, sometimes ten--surrounding Christ's tomb.¹⁶⁴ It would seem possible, then, that the

Pisan master had encountered descriptions like these, and that they would explain the multi-columned structure which appears in his Entombment. Thus the imagery of both the Lamentation and the Entombment in Pisa No. 20 may reflect a knowledge, direct or indirect, of the holy sites of the East; that these reflections of Constantinople and Jerusalem occur in a work from Pisa, seaport and gateway to the East, does not seem surprising.¹⁶⁵

The San Martino Cross

Similar echoes of the Holy Places occur in the next Pisan Entombment, that on Enrico's San Martino Cross (fig. 156). Here the tomb bears the oculi, now prominently displayed in diamond-shaped frames, which identify Christ's funeral bed. The motif was, of course, common in Northern Europe, but relatively unusual in Tuscan panel painting;¹⁶⁶ it does occur, however, in Tuscan sculpture, specifically in Pisa.¹⁶⁷ Enrico therefore seems to follow a local tradition of thus designating Christ's lectulus.

The same interest in the actual site of Christ's tomb also characterizes the rest of the architectural ensemble in this panel. Over the sarcophagus rises the ciborium long used in Tuscan painting to signify the Holy Sepulchre, but Enrico has altered this traditional form considerably: here it terminates in a flat, crenellated roof and is flanked by a pair of towers. This combination of towers and crenellations seems to have been a sort of shorthand used to designate the church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem; it is not infrequent in Northern depictions of Christ's burial and resurrection. In

the Entombment in the Ashburnam Evangelistary (fig. 186), towers and a crenellated roof, though sloping, appear, and in the Resurrection of the same manuscript (fol. 30; fig. 188), the towers and crenellations recur, but here the roof is flat, as in the San Martino panel. The same features occur in the architectural embellishment in the Entombment from the Gospel Book of Henry the Lion (fig. 181). As both miniatures include specific references to the shrine in the Holy Sepulchre, it seems probable that these features similarly suggested that site.¹⁶⁸ The roundels in the spandrels of Enrico's structure seem likewise meant to suggest the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem; in the Crusader seal (fig. 182) which represents the shrine of Christ's tomb inside the Holy Sepulchre, similar roundels decorate the spandrels of both the church and the shrine within.¹⁶⁹

Of course it is probably futile to try to trace Enrico's conglomeration of architectural motifs to the actual structure of the Holy Sepulchre or the tegurium within; this architectural hodgepodge seems to reflect Enrico's general grab-bag approach to artistic sources more than the appearance of any existing edifice. Still, he does seem to have consciously included in his composition an unprecedented number of details which were associated with the church of the Holy Sepulchre and with the shrine that it housed. This interest in the actual site of Christ's burial recalls that of Enrico's predecessor, the Master of Pisa 20; it suggests again that this awareness of the Holy Places was characteristic of Pisa particularly, and may have grown from that city-state's special involvement with the Levant.

In other respects the iconographic sources of Enrico's Entombment can be more specifically identified. The stances of the disciples and

the Virgin, and even the motif of the winding cloth with which Christ is lowered into the tomb, have a long history in Tuscan painting; essentially the same formula occurred in Uffizi No. 432 (fig. 152) and the Rosano Cross (fig. 153). But as usual Enrico does not rely entirely on established types. One prominent feature has not been encountered before: the dramatic stance of the Magdalen. Though she appeared in several earlier painted crosses,¹⁷⁰ she was merely grouped with the other women and relegated to an inconspicuous corner of the composition. Here, however, she stands alone, occupies center stage, and throws her arms up in a theatrical gesture of grief. This expressionistic gesture is an important addition to Italian Passion iconography: many of the great painters of the Trecento retain it, as does Donatello in the Quattrocento; one finds echoes of it even in the High Renaissance.¹⁷¹

Enrico likely borrowed this dramatic figure from an approximately contemporary Byzantine model. In Middle Byzantine art the holy women gradually began to play a larger role in the Entombment; in fact their increasing involvement serves as a sort of index in miniature of the heightened emotional content of the scene. Thus, though initially they are motionless and almost imperceptible, largely hidden by the rock-cut tomb,¹⁷² gradually they become more animated: in the icon in the Hermitage (fig. 165), one of the women raises one hand and, by the end of the eleventh century, both hands (as in Vat. gr. 1156, fig. 167). At the same time they begin to leave their rocky shelter and to move closer to Christ: thus in Vat. gr. 1156 they have emerged from the rock, though they remain at a distance from Christ. But by the late twelfth century they have made progress: in the Gospel Book of Gelat,

the gesticulating figure stands directly behind Christ¹⁷³--and a century later (as in the fresco at Čučer, fig. 166, or the Vatican stasite, fig. 170) the gesturing woman stands close to the center of the composition and throws her arms apart with the emphatic force that characterizes Enrico's Magdalen. Enrico was not the first Western artist to adapt this dramatic stance; it occurs earlier at Aquileia.¹⁷⁴ But the fresco painter must have known an earlier model, for the gesturing woman is still tucked discreetly behind the rock. In Enrico's composition, by contrast, one finds the compositional prominence and force of gesture that seem to have emerged, in Byzantine painting, only in the thirteenth century.¹⁷⁵

As important as Enrico's probable knowledge of contemporary Byzantine sources is the reason for his interest in this new motif. At mid-century Mary Magdalen was becoming increasingly important in Tuscan devotion; her rising cult, certainly an outgrowth of Franciscan thought,¹⁷⁶ is clearly reflected in contemporary texts. Thus Ogier of Trino, writing in the late twelfth or early thirteenth century, dwells at length on the Virgin's sorrow, but does not even mention the Magdalen by name; he refers only in passing to "certain holy women" who also wept at Christ's burial.¹⁷⁷ But in Pseudo-Anselm's Dialogues, probably from the middle of the thirteenth century, he plays a more important part: not only is she mentioned specifically, but the author tells us that she "wept more than all the others."¹⁷⁸ St. Bonaventura, writing not long after Pseudo-Anselm, develops this thread still further,¹⁷⁹ and in the Meditations long ascribed to him, probably written in the 1270's or 1280's, the Magdalen's grief knows no bounds.¹⁸⁰ Thus

the prominence which Enrico accords the Magdalen seems to reflect this steadily building cult; it seems an early harbinger of her importance in Tuscan painting of the late Dugento and Trecento.¹⁸¹

Uffizi No. 434

Enrico's debt to a Byzantine model is exceeded by that of his Florentine contemporary, whose Entombment (fig. 157) does far more than borrow a motif from the East: it is, rather, a wholesale appropriation of a Byzantine composition. This painter's enthusiasm for Byzantine types has led him to reject the long-established Italian practice of depicting Christ in a sarcophagus and to replace it with an unequivocally Eastern image, the Bearing of the Body. This theme is, of course, the original form of the Entombment in the East (cf. fig. 161); most examples predate the twelfth century, when the Threnos was generally preferred.¹⁸² Our painter's model reflects an identifiable phase in the development of the theme, not long after the Virgin, John and the holy women were added to the simple type depicting only the disciples. Some idea of this stage of development can be seen in two eleventh-century works, the Theodore Psalter (fol. 116; fig. 189) and the Gospel book in Paris, gr. 74 (fol. 209r.; fig. 190).¹⁸³ In the first, dated 1066, the Virgin and holy women have not yet joined the disciples, but follow at a distance below; in the second, probably a decade or so later, the women follow directly behind Nicodemus.

Despite the ultimate link between our panel and such works, it is most unlikely that an eleventh-century version of the scene directly influenced the Florentine painter. In the Byzantine miniatures, the

disciples exert little effort to carry Christ's body; in the panel, by contrast, one strongly senses their struggle in their straining, bent forms. Another difference lies in the tomb: in the miniatures it consists of little more than a door, but in the panel the enclosing rock dominates the structure.

For a better indication of our painter's source, one must turn to works closer in date to the painted cross. Comparable examples do not abound: the Bearing of the Body had been almost universally supplanted by the Threnos in the course of the twelfth century. But isolated examples of the earlier type persist in the late twelfth-century mosaic at Monreale (fig. 191)¹⁸⁴ and in the badly damaged fresco at Sopoćani, c. 1265 (fig. 192). The resemblance between these works and the Florentine composition is immediately clear. At Monreale the soaring, jagged rock of Christ's tomb is nearly identical to that in the panel, and the sense of the disciples' physical effort is also much the same. Even closer in some respects is what remains of the fresco at Sopoćani. At Monreale the Virgin and John have been fully integrated into the composition; they stand between Joseph and Nicodemus. But in our panel, and apparently at Sopoćani, they follow Nicodemus; this cleavage echoes the original separation of the two groups, seen in the early miniatures (figs. 189 and 190). Other details, too, suggest an especially close relationship. The gently curving form of Christ's body, in contrast to the S-shape His body takes at Monreale, is identical in the two works. And the bare legs of the second disciple at Sopoćani, with the careful articulation of straining musculature, similarly recall the Florentine panel, where both disciples wear short tunics.

It seems clear, then, that our Florentine painter had somehow acquired a model which closely resembled these works. His contact with the Byzantine source was probably first-hand; I know no exact parallel for this composition in Northern or Italian art.¹⁸⁵ The special kinship between his image and that at Sopoćani suggests that his source was a mid-thirteenth-century work--still another indication of the nearly contemporaneous models which were available in the middle of the Dugento.¹⁸⁶

The San Gimignano Cross

Like that of his fellow Florentine in Cross No. 434, Coppo's version of Christ's burial (figs. 158 and 159) is almost entirely Byzantine. In his composition, too, we find the introduction of a new type to the West. Unlike the earlier Italian burial scenes, and unlike those in the North, this is a scene of pure mourning, its intensity undiluted by the usual activities of anointing, enshrouding or burying the body.¹⁸⁷

This exclusive concentration on mourning recalls the Byzantine Threnos, but it is not the Threnos proper which influences Coppo. The differences have already been noted by Otto Demus, who compares Coppo's composition with the Threnos at Nerezi (fig. 168). Demus points out that in the San Gimignano panel, "most of the figures [have] lost their function--John does not fondle Christ's hand, and the two men do not hold his feet."¹⁸⁸ He states further that these departures from the Byzantine prototype "did not matter to [Coppo] . . .--the main thing for [him] was the concentration of expressive motifs."¹⁸⁹

Though Coppo unquestionably heightens the pathos of the scene, what in fact explains his image is not his manipulation of a type like that at Nerezi but his reliance on a different sort of Byzantine model. A variant of the Bewailing had emerged by the thirteenth century which resulted from the influence of the Epitaphios, Christ on the Anointing Stone (cf. fig. 163) on the Threnos. In the fresco at Čučer, for instance (fig. 168), Christ lies not on the Virgin's lap, but on the Stone of Unction: as in Coppo's panel, John does not kiss Christ's hand but bends dramatically forward, and the disciples do not hold Christ's feet but stand behind John, gesturing in despair. These figures, too, have lost their original function.

Despite recent explorations of the Threnos, this variant is still incompletely understood. Weitzmann, who meticulously traces the evolution of the theme until it reaches its "canonical" form, is silent on the subject of its later development,¹⁹⁰ and as eminent a scholar as Demus, in his misleading assessment of Coppo's image, seems to be unaware of this later formulation. Millet, however, recognized the impact of the Epitaphios on the Threnos: "La pierre de l'onction prit place aussi dans la composition traditionnelle. Elle en modifia le caractère."¹⁹¹ He continues to describe many of the changes that appear in both the San Gimignano panel and the Čučer fresco: "Joseph et Nicodème cesseront de se prosterner aux pieds du Sauveur, ils resteront debout. . . . Marie ne pourra plus tenir sur son giron le buste et la tête de son fils. It faudra qu'elle se penche simplement sur la pierre. . . ."¹⁹² Despite this insight, however, Millet's account of the new scene is rather sketchy. It seems best to expand

his discussion by exploring the reasons for this change and the probable time of its occurrence before examining more closely the specific sort of model which influenced Coppo.

Though most surviving examples of the modified Threnos are Late Byzantine works,¹⁹³ it seems likely that the new type had emerged by the thirteenth century and that it may have originated with developments in Byzantium in the later twelfth century. In 1169 Emperor Manuel Comnenus I brought the Anointing Stone from Ephesus to the Church of the Pantocrator in Constantinople. This momentous event, culminating in a dramatic procession in which the emperor bore the stone on his back, would inevitably have stimulated interest in this precious relic.¹⁹⁴ In fact not long after the arrival of the Anointing Stone in the capital, texts emerge which record the legend associated with the relic. John Cinnamus, writing after 1180, tells us that the Virgin "took her son and, according to custom, placed Him on His back on the stone, and leaning over Him, she wept heavily. While she was crying, tears fell upon the stone and have remained indelible upon it to this very day."¹⁹⁵ Nor is this record an isolated instance; as seen above, the legend spread quickly to the West; both Robert of Clari and the Liber de Passione attest to its diffusion, and a Russian pilgrim, in Constantinople in 1200, similarly documents its fame.¹⁹⁶

These diverse references to the legend--all within a period of forty years after the arrival of the relic in Constantinople--suggest that the relic did not pass into oblivion after its triumphant reception, on the contrary, it apparently became a treasured local monument, frequently displayed to visitors. It thus seems conceivable

that the presence of this celebrated relic in the Byzantine capital could have given rise to the new images, which fuse the symbolic Epitaphios with the narrative Threnos.

Whatever the origins of the new synthesis,¹⁹⁷ one senses a sort of tentative experimentation in the early examples of these images. In some, such as the Epitaphios in the State Museum, Bucharest (fig. 193),¹⁹⁸ the spirit of the liturgical image dominates, while in others, such as the fresco at Čučer (fig. 166), the Threnos seems the primary image. In both, however, the Anointing Stone is prominently featured: Christ rests on its surface as the Virgin weeps over His body, just as the legend describes.¹⁹⁹

It seems probable that among the antecedents of these images was the model which inspired Coppo. The resemblance between his composition (fig. 158) and that at Čučer (fig. 166) seems especially strong. Not only do they share the position of the Virgin and of John--points which also characterize the Bucharest Epitaphios (fig. 193)--but such unusual details as the treatment of the holy women in each further suggest a common source. Coppo breaks with earlier Italian custom in grouping the women just behind the Virgin; though Byzantine art traditionally places them closer to Christ's head than to His feet, their triangular configuration and huddled forms at Čučer are particularly close to Coppo's treatment. Uncommonly similar, too, are the exact position of the Virgin's head--which extends a few inches beyond Christ's instead of the reverse (as at Nerezi, fig. 168) and the mountain looming behind the figures, though no opening to the tomb appears. A final detail which the two share is the variegated texture of the

marble slab on which Christ lies. Though it cannot be proved, the possibility arises that each artist wished to suggest the texture of the actual Stone of Unction--the marble flecked with white in memory of the Virgin's tears.²⁰⁰

Despite these striking points of correspondence, the two images are clearly not identical. The Čučer fresco, curiously, represents Christ tightly swathed in linen--an archaizing touch which does not occur in Coppo's version. Another interesting difference appears in the gestures of the holy women clustered on the left. In the fresco they convey their grief merely by raising their hands to their faces--an ancient convention denoting pensive, muted sorrow.²⁰¹ In Coppo's composition, on the other hand, Mary Magdalen raises her fingers to her cheeks as if tearing her own face in despair. The restraint of the Čučer fresco again suggests the painter's reliance on a much older prototype; as Maguire points out, in Middle Byzantine art the women mourned in this subdued fashion because violent expressions of grief would imply a lack of faith in the Resurrection.²⁰² But in the thirteenth century, Maguire continues, the discretion of Middle Byzantine art was abandoned, and more vehement expressions of sorrow appear; he cites the Koimesis at Sopoćani in which mourners, huddled together, tear at their cheeks much as in the San Gimignano panel.²⁰³ In fact the Threnos at Ohrid, c. 1295, shows one of the mourning women in a stance that is almost identical to that of the Magdalen in Coppo's Lamentation (fig. 194).²⁰⁴ It is thus possible that Coppo derived this violent detail from a nearly contemporary Byzantine model in which the decorum of earlier works was similarly discarded.

But if Coppo's hypothetical source was the immediate inspiration for this graphic gesture, it is also true that actual mourning customs in Florence would have made him especially receptive to the new motif. Moshe Barasch adduces a text from the late twelfth or early thirteenth century by the Florentine Boncompagni; the text alludes to the "lacerating of the face, rending of garments and pulling of hair" with which Tuscan women mourned their dead.²⁰⁵ Thus Coppo's observation of actual mourners, as well as his study of contemporary Byzantine models, may lie behind the Magdalen's gesture of despair.

Finally, it is interesting to examine Coppo's scene in the context of contemporary Western descriptions of Christ's burial. Ogier of Trino's Liber de Passione, written perhaps half a century before the execution of Coppo's cross, may well have been known to the Florentine painter; like Coppo, Ogier depicts the Virgin weeping over Christ's body "which was stretched out on a stone, on which even now her tears may be seen."²⁰⁶ Of course this is not to say that Coppo derived his composition from the Liber de Passione, but merely that such a text might have stimulated his interest in the legend of the Anointing Stone and thus in the iconography of the Byzantine model which he followed. Another account, possibly even closer in date to the San Gimignano Cross, also may have colored his conception of the event. The Dialogus of Pseudo-Anselm²⁰⁷ discusses Christ's burial almost entirely in terms of human grief. The mechanics of the preparation and burial of the body, so prominently featured in discussions a century earlier²⁰⁸ and discussed as well by Ogier,²⁰⁹ have been virtually eliminated here. There is no reference at all to the anointing or enshrouding of Christ,

and even the entombment itself is mentioned only obliquely.²¹⁰

Instead the text concentrates on the profound sorrow of all of Christ's loved ones, not only His mother but also John--who serves primarily as the Virgin's escort in Ogier's text rather than as a mourner in his own right--Mary Magdalen and a host of others.²¹¹ Though the details of Pseudo-Anselm's text do not correspond exactly to Coppo's panel--the Anointing Stone, so conspicuous in the panel, is not mentioned in the text--the conception of the scene in both seems remarkably close: in both one finds a concentration on pure mourning to the exclusion of all else. Thus Coppo's panel, and its literary analogue by Pseudo-Anselm, represent a benchmark of sorts in the history of medieval religiosity. From the earliest treatments of Christ's burial to the San Gimignano Lamentation one can trace a gradual but derisive shift, in which the depiction of action is subordinated to the expression of emotion. This process of distillation, this filtering out of non-expressive elements, reaches one peak here; the final culmination of the process will come later, in the great lyrical purity of the Pietà.

The Pistoia Cross

The striking iconographic dependence of Salerno's Lamentation (fig. 160) on that of his father (fig. 159) has already been noted. But certain details, besides Salerno's inevitable tempering of his father's intensity, distinguish the two. Thus here the Magdalen does not lacerate her face, but pulls her hair--another violent, self-injuring gesture which could derive from contemporary Byzantine models or actual customs of mourning in Florence.²¹² But a more immediate

source may account for this difference in the San Gimignano and Pistoia versions: in a Lamentation also in Pistoia, completed only four years before Salerno's cross, two of the holy women tear their hair.²¹³

The most conspicuous difference between the two panels, however, is Salerno's addition of the enormous shroud under Christ's body. The presence of the shroud is, in itself, not surprising; the motif appeared in such earlier Florentine burial scenes as those on Cross No. 432 (fig. 152) and the Rosano Cross (fig. 153). Nor is the shroud uncommon in the sort of Byzantine image from which Coppo and Salerno drew.²¹⁴ But the prominence which Salerno accords the shroud is without precedent. In the Italian and Byzantine works just cited, it is an unobtrusive detail, but here it commands attention: ceremoniously displayed, with every fold carefully articulated, it threatens to become the very focus of the composition. What explains Salerno's startling concern with this erstwhile genre detail?

Though no documentary proof survives, it seems probable that Salerno's Lamentation reflects a dramatic event that took place only a decade or so earlier: the miracle at Bolsena. This miracle, commemorated in Raphael's famous fresco in the Stanza d'Elidoro,²¹⁵ occurred in 1263, when a young priest was saying Mass in the Umbrian town. The priest, who had come to doubt the presence of Christ in the Eucharist, was amazed to see a stream of blood pouring from the host and staining the altar-cloth or corporal. The corporal, as it bore tangible proof of the miracle, became the object of great veneration and was removed forthwith to the neighboring city of Orvieto, where it is still to be found today.²¹⁶

The connection between the solemnly displayed shroud in Salerno's Lamentation and the miraculously stained altar-cloth at Orvieto is reasonably direct. The symbolism of the altar-cloth as Christ's shroud has a venerable history in Christian thought. Thus Peter Comestor informs us: "Because the body of Jesus was enveloped in a simple shroud, Pope Silvester [d.335 A.D.] resolved that the sacrifice on the altar be celebrated on such a linen cloth."²¹⁷ Indeed the very term "corporal" attests to the role of the cloth, to protect Christ's body.²¹⁸

The correspondences of time and place are also amenable to this theory. Not only did the miracle occur only eleven years before the execution of the Pistoia Cross, but Coppo himself, who bore the primary responsibility for the commission,²¹⁹ may have been in Orvieto very soon after the Orvietans appropriated the relic from nearby Bolsena. His well-known Madonna and Child, in all likelihood executed for the Servite Church in Orvieto which still possesses it today, is dated by consensus between 1265 and 1270.²²⁰

But the strongest indications that the Pistoia Lamentation alludes to the miracle at Bolsena reside in the panel itself. First, in defiance of medical logic and artistic tradition, a jet of blood is shown spurting from the wound in Christ's side. This breach--notably absent in Coppo's Lamentation (fig. 159)²²¹--is eminently reasonable if the scene is considered in the context of the recent event at Bolsena. And a close examination of the panel reveals another corroborating detail: the shroud is not pure white, but is shot through with pale but unmistakable streaks of red.²²² Thus the correspondence with

the blood-stained corporal at Orvieto seems complete: there seems to me little doubt that the Pistoia Lamentation commemorates the miracle which took place only a few years earlier.²²³ In this final Passion scene, then, we find the same phenomenon that has been observed throughout this study: a Dugento painter relying on a Byzantine model, but altering it in such a way as to give it a distinctly Italian meaning.

Conclusions

The evidence provided by this last group of scenes adds its weight to the tentative conclusions suggested by the other themes. As in the previous cases, the burial scenes from the earlier crosses betray little, if any, indication of direct contact with Byzantine models. They rely instead on earlier Western interpretations of Eastern types; in the case of the Lucchese crosses, the influence of transalpine sources seems especially strong, while in both Lucca and Florence, South Italian models played an important role.

Again it was in the crosses executed after the Fourth Crusade that the strongest debt to Byzantine was seen. Though the Pisan involvement in Constantinople before 1204 admits the possibility of an earlier date for Pisa No. 20, this cross may reflect the impact of the Crusade not only in the clear Byzantinism of its style but also in the introduction of the Anointing Stone to Italian iconography--a relic which the Crusaders encountered in Constantinople. Enrico, at mid-century, incorporates a recently developed Byzantine motif as well as

numerous references to the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem. The Florentines active at the same time carry their fascination with Byzantine themes still farther, and derive their compositions almost entirely from Eastern sources--probably, again, from works executed only a short time before their transmission to Tuscany.

Despite this considerable debt to Byzantium, however, our Italian painters' responsiveness to their Eastern models was colored by specifically Italian forms of devotion. The Lamentation in Pisa No. 20 could have been inspired by Ogier's Liber de Passione as well as by the Byzantine images which the Pisan master assimilated. Enrico's dramatic Magdalen no doubt echoes her increasing importance in Tuscan piety. Coppo's exclusive concentration of the mourners' grief finds a parallel in the contemporaneous text by Pseudo-Anselm. And the shroud prominently exhibited in Salerno's panel is very probably a tribute to the miraculous corporal venerated at Orvieto.

This final group of Passion themes thus confirms two fundamental aspects of the long-debated "Byzantine Question:" both the keen interest of Dugento painters in Byzantine art and the extent to which this interest reflects contemporary Italian religiosity. This union of Byzantine form and Italian content does not stop with the Dugento: much the same synthesis occurs in the great successor of these Dugento artists, Giotto. In fact his great Lamentation in the Arena Chapel (fig. 195), and the fresco by the Isaac Master at Assisi, to which Giotto owes much (fig. 196),²²⁴ serve as paradigmatic examples of this phenomenon.

These versions of the Lamentation, though generically related to Coppo's (fig. 158), on closer inspection depart sharply from the San Gimignano scene: now a gentler, more humane interpretation of Christ's death replaces the harsh power of the earlier master. Thus the Magdalen no longer expresses her grief by a self-injuring gesture, but instead caresses Christ's feet. Christ is not stretched on a slab of stone, but cradled in the Virgin's lap. Most telling, perhaps, is the change at the emotional core of the picture, the juxtaposed heads of Mary and Christ. Now the Virgin no longer impetuously presses her face to her son's, but gazes at it as if studying it for the last time; the fervent embrace of Coppo's scene, and most Dugento Lamentations as well, here gives way to a more thoughtful, measured expression of inner grief.

Giotto's preference for this understated image of sorrow seems fully characteristic of this great painter, whose sensitivity to nuances of emotion has long been admired. Less often observed are the roots of his image, which are Byzantine. The composition does not merely reflect the Threnos--this much has been noted²²⁵--but an identifiable variant, which combines the principle iconographic points which separate Giotto's scene from Coppo's. Thus, in the Morgan Lectinary, Ms. 639 (fol. 280r.; fig. 116) not only does the Virgin cradle Christ in her lap but she gazes at her son's face instead of pressing it to her cheek as usual in the Threnos. Still more uncommon--indeed, nearly unique--is the stance of the holy women, who here kneel and embrace Christ's feet.²²⁶

It thus seems probable that a descendant of this lectionary was adapted by the Isaac Master, and from Assisi was transmitted to the Arena Chapel. The indebtedness of these painters--two of the most important of their time --to Byzantium demonstrates one further aspect of the value of Byzantine models to the Dugento. The richness of Byzantine iconographic types offered a wide range of possibilities to Tuscan artists, a range which allowed for the development of both the expressionistic power of Coppo and the more humane vision of Christ's death which would culminate with Giotto. Thus the old, and still tenacious, notion of a Byzantine "straitjacket" stifling Tuscan creativity seems still more misleading than before: not only did Byzantium offer new possibilities for exploring the human content of Christian themes, but with a scene like the Lamentation, Byzantine prototypes were sufficiently varied as to inspire interpretations as different as Coppo's and Giotto's.

But if Giotto's profound debt to Byzantium must be acknowledged, it is also true that a contemporary Italian text--significantly, a Franciscan text--provides remarkable parallels for the frescoes in Assisi and Padua. Pseudo-Bonaventura's Meditations describes Mary holding Christ in her lap and the Magdalen at His feet, exactly as represented by the Isaac Master and Giotto: "The Lady supports the head and shoulders in her lap, the Magdalen the feet at which she had formerly found so much grace."²²⁷ But most interesting is the paragraph immediately following, in which the Franciscan describes the Virgin's actions just before Christ's body is prepared for burial: "She gazed at His face and head and saw the marks of the thorns, the

tearing of His beard, His face filthy with spit and blood, His shorn head; and she could not cease from looking at Him. . . . The mother gazed faithfully at all this and wished to look longer still. . . ."228

Thus for Pseudo-Bonaventura, too, the most important moment before the final preparation of the body for burial is not the embrace --that will come, but only after Christ is shrouded²²⁹--but this bitersweet interlude in which Mary "could not cease from looking" at her son. Even so close a conformance as this need not be taken as proof that the Isaac Master and Giotto derived their compositions from the Meditations; as Schiller has observed, "the same piety finds expression in word and image."²³⁰ But it is interesting that Giotto's composition seems formed of just those elements which characterized the images of his forerunners in the Dugento. Like theirs, his composition betrays a debt to Byzantine prototypes--not merely generic but specific; but as before, the Byzantine derivation does not obscure the Tuscan content, the strong correspondence with contemporary currents in Italian devotional thought.²³¹

NOTES

¹No burial scene appears in the cross from the Tolomei Collection (Garrison, Index, No. 517), but this curious specimen divides its apron panels into four rather than six tabellone, each representing a single theme.

²See Chapter VI, note 5.

³Coor, "Coppo," p. 19, n. 38.

⁴This theme is common in Italy during the eleventh and twelfth centuries and lingers in a few historiated crosses of the later twelfth and early thirteenth centuries; besides the Tressa Cross (Sandberg-Vavalà, Croce dipinta, fig. 414) it occurs on Uffizi No. 432 (*ibid.*, fig. 276), on the Rosano Cross (*ibid.*, fig. 280) and on Pisa No. 20 (*ibid.*, fig. 434). But after the early Dugento this theme was avoided, not only in the painted crosses but in Tuscan Passion and Resurrection cycles in general; its decline probably reflects the fact that it stresses Christ's divinity rather than His humanity. For a convenient summary of examples of the theme, consult Sandberg-Vavalà's analytical tables (*ibid.*, pp. 468-75).

⁵Garrison, Index, places the Uffizi Cross (No. 515) in the fourth quarter of the twelfth century, and dates the Santa Giulia Cross (No. 503) to the late twelfth or early thirteenth century.

⁶Sandberg-Vavalà, Croce dipinta, fig. 482.

⁷According to Sandberg-Vavalà (*ibid.*, p. 606), the Entombment on the cross is identical to Enrico's; its present state is too poor to distinguish details, and this painter's panel in the Bargello (Garrison, Index, No. 390), which provided duplicates for the Passion scenes studied earlier, unfortunately does not include the Entombment.

⁸St. John does bend to kiss Christ's feet in a Byzantine variant of the Deposition which occasionally found its way to Italy; see the door panel of San Paolo fuori le mura (fig. 142). It is interesting that the door panel closely resembles Enrico's Deposition (fig. 107), though in the Pisan version John merely stands to the right. See the discussion of Enrico in Chapter VI, pp.

⁹Because of the damage to the left portion of the panel, only two of these diamond-bordered circles survive; a third probably

appeared on the far left corner, as in Enrico's Three Maries at the Tomb (Sandberg-Vavalà, Croce dipinta, fig. 297).

¹⁰For a color photograph see Carli, Italian Primitives, pl. 26.

¹¹Alessandro Conti, "Appunti pistoiesi," Annali della Scuola Normale superiore di Pisa, ser. III, vol. I, no. 1 (Pisa, 1971), 111-12.

¹²Millet, pp. 489-516; Weitzmann, "Threnos." See also Maguire, pp. 132, 145-46, 160-66; Velmans, Peinture murale, pp. 102-06.

¹³In addition to general summaries in Réau, II, pt. 2, 519-28; Hans Aurenhammer, Lexikon der Christlichen Ikonographie, I (Vienna, 1967), 357-74; Schiller, II, 168-84; and Kirschbaum's Lexikon der Christlichen Ikonographie (Elisabetta Lucchesi Palli, "Beweinung Christi;" Curt Schweicher, "Grablegung Christi"), see the studies by Neil C. Brooks, "The Sepulchre of Christ in Art and Liturgy," University of Illinois Studies in Language and Literature, VII, no. 2 (Urbana, 1921), 30-110; Émile Mâle, L'Art religieux du XII^e siècle en France (Paris, 1922), pp. 128-39; Gertrud Simon, Die Ikonographie der Grablegung Christi (Rostock, 1926); Cook, "The Earliest Painted Panels of Catalonia, VI," Art Bulletin, 10 (1928), 322-32; Panofsky, Early Netherlandish Painting, I, 23-25; Mary Ann Graeve, "The Stone of Unc-tion in Caravaggio's Painting for the Chiesa Nuova," Art Bulletin, 40 (1958), 223-38; Pächt, pp. 71-73; Hubert Le Roux, "Les Mises au tom-beau dans l'enluminure, les ivoires et la sculpture du IX^e au XII^e siècle," in Mélanges offerts à René Crozet, ed. Pierre Gallais and Yves-Jean Riou (Poitiers, 1966), I, 479-86; Don Denny, "Notes on the Avignon Pietà," Speculum, 44 (1969), 213-33; William H. Forsyth, The Entombment of Christ: French Sculpture of the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries (Cambridge, Mass., 1970), pp. 9-10.

¹⁴Croce dipinta, p. 305. In addition to Sandberg-Vavalà's analysis (*ibid.*, pp. 297-308), pertinent comments on the iconography of these subjects during the Dugento can be found in Mosche Barasch, Gestures of Despair in Medieval and Early Renaissance Art (New York, 1976), pp. 57-63; Meiss, Late Fourteenth Century, pp. 182-83.

¹⁵Le Roux, p. 486.

¹⁶For other examples see Weitzmann, "Threnos," figs. 1, 3, 4, 5.

¹⁷Early Netherlandish Painting, I, 23.

¹⁸This difference is also noted by Denny, p. 218, who characterizes the Byzantine type as "assymetrical and dynamic" in contrast to the Northern type.

¹⁹Millet, p. 502.

²⁰Mâle, p. 129.

²¹Simon, p. 35; this point is echoed by Schiller, II, 168 and Parker, Descent, p. 54. Entirely unconvincing, on the other hand, is the theory proposed by Graeve. She suggests that during the Second Crusade Latin Christians encountered the Eastern Epitaphios, the liturgical image of Christ on the Anointing Stone, and imitated it in a Western composition, the Anointing, but substituted the sarcophagus for the Anointing Stone in order "to transfer to the sarcophagus the altar meaning which the Stone of Unction has in the Epitaphioi (p. 231 and n. 51). It will be seen that the Western type of the Anointing, far from being derived from the Epitaphios, was formulated almost entirely independently of this Eastern image, and often does not depict Christ on the Stone of Unction at all, but on a demonstrably different relic, the funeral bed or lectulus. See below, pp. 299-300.

²²Pächt, p. 72. Earlier scholars as well, such as Cook ("Earliest Painted Panels, VI," 325-26), admired this theory. But many writers have attempted to discredit either the general assumption that liturgical drama influenced iconography or specific aspects of Mâle's thesis. For a recent analysis of Mâle's arguments, his sources in earlier German and French literature, and the points raised by his critics, see Parker, Descent, pp. 46-61.

²³Forsyth, p. 12; see pp. 11-14 for his general discussion.

²⁴Descent, p. 59.

²⁵Ibid., p. 54.

²⁶Young, The Dramatic Associations of the Easter Sepulchre, University of Wisconsin Studies in Language and Literature, X (Madison, 1920), 129.

²⁷Ibid.; see also Young, Drama, I, ch. 7-14; Forsyth, p. 11, n. 20.

²⁸Le Roux, p. 483, who cites many examples.

²⁹Forsyth, p. 12. He does not date the object but discusses it in connection with works of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

³⁰Descent, p. 52.

³¹It is implicit in the thought of John of Chrysostom and is openly stated in the Syrian homily of Narsai: "the altar is the symbol of the Lord's tomb, and the bread and wine are the Body of the Lord which was embalmed and buried" (quoted by Hardison, pp. 36-37, n. 5). See also Parker, Descent, pp. 68-72 and Irjö Hirn, The Sacred Shrine (London, 1912), pp. 68-69.

³²See Hardison, p. 70; Parker, Descent, pp. 65-67; for the original text see Migne, P.L., CV, 1144.

³³It was Amalarius' task to explain the symbolism of the Mass to the common people of the Empire, and in this he overwhelmingly succeeded; Hardison quotes an adversary, writing in 853, who charges that Amalarius "infected and corrupted almost all the churches in France and in many other regions" (p. 38).

³⁴Panofsky, Early Netherlandish Painting, I, 23, describes the "quiet, dignified restraint" of these images. Denny similarly likens the mode of Northern Entombments to a "solemn and purposeful ritual" (p. 219).

³⁵Denny, pp. 225-26, suggests further correspondences between the liturgy of Good Friday and Entombment iconography, observing that "the nakedness of the body, the anointing of the body, the wrapping in linen, the placement of the body on the sarcophagus or on the Stone of Unction . . . have their visual counterpart in recurring ritual."

³⁶Millet, p. 502. In the Women at the Sepulchre, the sarcophagus tomb also emerges in the West in the tenth century; see, for instance, Cook, "Earliest Painted Panels, VI," 342-48. Millet, in discussing the motif in this theme, cites Christ's funeral bench, the plaque and the "rolled stone" which sealed the tomb as other objects which Western artists transformed into a sarcophagus (pp. 520-30).

³⁷See Graeve, p. 228.

³⁸Venice, Museo Marciano; Schiller, II, 173.

³⁹On the theme in general see Schiller, II, 173; Millet, p. 499; G. G. King, "Iconographical Notes on the Passion," Art Bulletin, 16 (1934), 291-303. Later Byzantine art interpolated figures from the Threnos into the Epitaphios, as in the example at Bucharest (fig. 143). In later studies ("L'Epitaphios. L'Image," Comptes Rendus des Séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres de l'année 1942 [Paris, 1942], pp. 408-19, and Broderies religieuses de style byzantin

[Paris, 1947], p. 86), p. 86) Millet traces the expansion to the late thirteenth century. It may, however, have occurred somewhat earlier; see pp. 334-36, below.

⁴⁰Shemokmedi, Tiflis Museum; G. N. Tschubinaschwili, Georgian Repoussé Work, VIII-XVIII Centuries (Tiflis, 1957), pl. 137. This work is mentioned but not published by Millet, Recherches, p. 499.

⁴¹On this work see Le Roux, pp. 482-83.

⁴²This type of composition will be discussed below, pp. 334-36.

⁴³Denny, p. 218.

⁴⁴On the iconography of this scene see Maguire, pp. 134-35.

⁴⁵The stone is described by a Russian abbot, Daniel, who visited the Holy Land in 1106-7: "One sees . . . a sort of bench . . . upon which the body of our Lord Jesus Christ was laid; it is now covered by marble slabs. This sacred rock . . . can be seen through three small round openings on one side" (Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society, 32 vols. [London, 1886-97], VI, 12; hereafter cited as PPTS). Similar reports were filed by the German Theoderich, c. 1172 (PPTS, XVII, 8-9) and by Willebrand, Symeon Symeonis, Rudolf von Suchem and others (PPTS, IV, Appendix II, 92, n. 1).

Millet appears to have been the first art historian to recognize the oculi on the "sacred rock"; he cites a number of Western Entombments in which the motif appears (Recherches, p. 523, n. 7; p. 526, n. 4; p. 527), and Forsyth (p. 9, n. 11) expands his list. The reasons for the Western interest in the motif will be considered at greater length below, pp. 299-300.

⁴⁶Millet, Recherches, p. 506. The motif migrates from Christ's funeral bed to His crib; Maguire notes its appearance in the Nativity in the "Phocas" Lectionary of Mt. Athos (pp. 139-40, fig. 20), and convincingly associates this point with the theological connection between Christ's birth and death. He is unaware of the meaning of the oculi, however, and thus assumes that they originally appeared on Christ's crib and then moved to His tomb instead of the reverse. In Western Nativities the arch like openings, derived from models like the "Phocas" Lectionary, similarly occur (see Goldschmidt, Die Elfenbeinskulturen aus der romanischen Zeit, I [1918; rpt. Berlin, 1972] pl. I [1]; pl. IV [10]).

⁴⁷Ottavio Morisani, "Gli affreschi dell'Hosios Lukas in Focide," Critica d'Arte, 9 (1962), 1-17, fig. 9.

⁴⁸The symmetry of the disciples also occurs, though rarely, in Byzantine Entombments which retain the rock-cut tomb; one example survives in Copte 13, fol. 276 (Cook, "Earliest Painted Panels, VI," fig. 18). It is not difficult to see why this variant appears so rarely. The disciple who first enters the tomb is forced to walk backward--an awkwardness which most Byzantine artists apparently preferred to avoid.

⁴⁹Forsyth, p. 9; Panofsky, Early Netherlandish Painting, I, 23-25; Weitzmann, "Threnos," p. 483.

⁵⁰On this manuscript see Georg Swarzenski, Die Regensburger Malerei des X. und XI. Jahrhunderts (Stuttgart, 1969), pl. XXIV, fig. 62, pp. 135-55.

⁵¹Millet also identifies the object as the funeral bench (Recherches, pp. 524-25). The same sort of arrangement, with the funeral bench visible inside the tomb, occurs in the Bearing of the Body in Dionysiou 587, fol. 16r. (Treasures of Athos, I, 168, fig. 201); this sort of prototype, though amplified with additional mourners, recurs in Late Byzantine art. (see note 232).

⁵²The confusion between the funeral bench and a Western sarcophagus is evident in Western texts describing Christ's tomb. Peter Comestor (P.L., CXCVIII, 1634) tells us that the tomb is "outstanding as a sarcophagus" ("eminens quasi sarcophagus") and that "like a sarcophagus it leans on the side [of the wall]" ("quasi sarcophagus inclinatus super latus"). The Speculum Humanae Salvationis attempts to clear up the misunderstanding; "And [the tomb] is not hollowed out, therefore the body is not placed within, but on top of it" (ch. XXXII, line 16; see Forsyth, p. 34).

⁵³Le Roux, p. 484. For the numerous examples of the theme in Romanesque sculpture, see his discussion, pp. 484-85.

⁵⁴See, for instance, Schiller, II, 168; Forsyth, p. 10.

⁵⁵For the impact of the Crusades on the depiction of the Way to Calvary, see Chapter IV, pp. 143-44. The influence of the Holy Wars on Western iconography has been often overlooked. For other examples see notes 75 and 77.

⁵⁶See John Wilkinson, "The Church of the Holy Sepulchre," Archeology, 31 (July-August, 1978), 11; see also Runciman, I, 3-105 on the events leading to the launching of the First Crusade.

⁵⁷ Robert the Monk, Historia Hierosolimitana, I, 1-3, Recueil des historiens des Croisades, Historiens occidentaux, III, 727-30, in Brundage, p. 19.

⁵⁸ Ibid. See also Norman Kotler, The Earthly Jerusalem (New York, 1969), p. 169.

⁵⁹ PPTS, XVII, 14, n. 4.

⁶⁰ Runciman, I, 292.

⁶¹ On the fall of Edessa see Runciman, II, 225-44; on the launching of the Second Crusade, *ibid.*, pp. 247-63.

⁶² The Letters of St. Bernard of Clairveau, trans. Bruno Scott James (Chicago, 1953), No. 392, p. 464.

⁶³ Ibid., No. 391, p. 461. For a summary of Bernard's work for the Second Crusade see two studies by Watkin Williams, St. Bernard (Manchester, 1944), pp. 19-26 and St. Bernard of Clairveau (Westminster, Md., 1953), pp. 262-88; also E. Willems, "Cîteaux et la Seconde Croisade," Revue d'Histoire Écclésiastique, 49 (1954), 116-51.

⁶⁴ P.L., CLXXXIV, 742-68.

⁶⁵ Ibid., 757-58; "... admiremur et æmulemur potius beatarum mansionum gloriam . . . Joseph . . . et Nicodemus. . . . Tales sepulturae suae ministros amat Jesus, qui corpus ejus audacter oripiant de potestate tenebrarum. . . . En lectulum . . . fortes ambiunt, omnes tenentes gladios, ad bella doctissimi. . . . Vae peccatoribus, Domine, sepulcrum tuum obsidentibus."

⁶⁶ These works--a relief at Chartres and a panel from the Klosterneuberg Altar--will be discussed below (pp. 300, 311). For other instances see Forsyth, p. 9, n. 11). Though the oculi signify Christ's funeral bed, as in Byzantine art (see pp. 294-95), it seems unlikely that a Byzantine model is responsible for their occurrence in the West. In Eastern works (cf. figs. 169 and 170), they are invariably represented as arched rectangular openings; in the West (figs. 174 and 183; see also the works cited by Forsyth) they are not rectangular but round.

⁶⁷ Adelheid Heimann, "The Capital Frieze and Pilasters of the Portail Royal, Chartres," Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes, 31 (1968), 72-102, refers to the oculi on the Chartres relief

(my fig. 174) as a "pattern" (p. 87). Graeve, similarly unaware of the meaning of the oculi, attempts to identify the funeral bed at Chartres as a wholly different relic, the Anointing Stone (pp. 230-31). Earlier, Cook alluded to the oculi in Spanish Romanesque capitals as simple ornamentation ("Earliest Pained Panels, VI," p. 331). See also Maguire's comments, discussed in note 46 above.

⁶⁸Daniel, Theoderich and several others; see note 45.

⁶⁹Virginia G. Berry, "The Second Crusade," in History of the Crusades, I, 506.

⁷⁰Charlton T. Lewis and Charles Short, A Latin Dictionary (1879; rpt. Oxford, 1975), p. 1046: "couch, bed;" in particular, "a funeral bed."

⁷¹See notes 62 and 63.

⁷²See the passage quoted in note 65; among other instances: "lectulus tuus, Jesu Christi . . ."; "non invenient te in lectulo tuo suavi et florido" (P.L., CLXXXIV, 757, 758).

⁷³See Heimann, p. 73.

⁷⁴Watkins, p. 75; Richard Storrs, Bernard of Clairveau (New York, 1892), p. 355.

⁷⁵The iconography of the frieze has recently been studied by Adelheid Heimann (see note 67). She observes that the Passion cycle (pl. 37-a, figs. 31-35) is characterized by chronological irregularities (p. 80) and by a number of iconographic peculiarities (pp. 84-89, passim), but does not associate them with the preaching of the Crusade at Chartres at exactly the time that the frieze was executed. Yet both the chronological order of the narrative and many of the iconographic oddities as well can be explained by examining the Passion cycle in the context of the Crusade; the sequence constitutes an explicit depiction of the danger threatening the Holy Land and the need for action. Thus the Betrayal is depicted, oddly, in two scenes; the first represents Peter smiting Malchus (pl. 17-a, fig. 31). This incident was not always included in earlier Western representations of the Arrest, and when it was, it was usually integrated into the composition as a whole rather than set apart, as here. Further, Christ generally admonishes Peter for this act of violence by extending His arm toward the misguided apostle; here no such signal occurs. Thus both the prominence of the episode and Christ's tacit approval of Peter's deed depart from earlier tradition. It may be that the artist wished to emphasize Peter's courage in defending Christ, and to offer this

example of forceful action in Christ's behalf to twelfth century Christians. Peter's act was, in fact, seen in just this light by St. Bernard, who praised the apostle's zeal in defending Christ and proposed that his contemporaries similarly take arms against the enemies of the Church (Letters, No. 399, p. 471).

The episode of Peter and Malchus is followed by the next phase of the action, the Capture of Christ (pl. 37-a, fig. 32). This scene, too, departs from iconographic custom; Heimann observes that it is "different from the normal composition" in that the soldiers have here actually seized Christ and drag Him away (p. 84). This unusually physical representation of the Arrest again graphically illustrates the threat of seizure to the Holy Places. Immediately after, in clear violation of the Biblical sequence of events, is the Entry into Jerusalem (pl. 37-a, fig. 33). Heimann, p. 85, suggests that it has been "displaced by the Last Supper" from its proper place in the narrative. But if this series is read as a symbolic representation of the plight of the Church and the need for immediate action, the placement of the scene here is perfectly logical: after demonstrating the danger to the Church in the Arrest, the frieze shows, quite literally, the action that must be taken, entering Jerusalem. Bernard himself drew this obvious parallel between Biblical history and the crisis in the Holy Land at least twice. In his Meditatio in Passionem et Resurrectionem Domini, when ostensibly discussing Christ's Entry into Jerusalem, he used language that is strikingly appropriate to the launching of a Crusade: "Do not be afraid . . . do not fear . . . Go forth from the city . . . Take the palm . . . in order to conquer the rulers of darkness" (P.L., CLXXXIV, 741). And in his Sermo in Dominica Palmarum, Bernard is even more explicit: "Just as [Jesus] entered that place [Jerusalem], so it is worthy today for us to so act" (P.L., CLXXXIV, 871). Another peculiarity noted by Heimann also occurs in this scene: the uncommon addition of two figures holding pilgrims' staffs. Heimann asserts that the staffs identify these characters as "travellers from afar" (p. 86) and concludes that they are the Greeks mentioned by the text of St. John (12:20-25). In fact these could as plausibly represent Crusaders; Bernard himself considered the Crusade a pilgrimage (Étienne Delaruelle, "L'idée de croisade chez Saint Bernard," in Mélanges Saint Bernard [Dijon, 1953], 53-67, especially "III- Le Croisade comme pèlèrinage," 60-64).

Immediately following the Entry (Heimann, p. 87, notes the omission of the intervening scenes) are two scenes which represent the ultimate goal of the Crusaders: Christ's tomb. The first is the Entombment, the connections of which with the Crusade are discussed above. The second is the Three Maries at the Tomb, in which the oculi identifying Christ's lectulus are repeated. Other scenes among the capital frieze may also allude to the Crusades; thus also represented is the Mission of the Apostles (cf. Heimann, p. 88), a scene which Adolf Katzenellenbogen has associated with the preaching of the First Crusade ("The Central Tympanum at Vézelay," Art Bulletin, 26 [1944], 141-51). But in this group, at least, the entire sequence from Peter

smiting Malchus to the Three Maries seems unequivocally intended to illustrate the urgent need to come to the defense of the Holy Land; it may well be a visual embodiment of Bernard's famous sermon delivered at that very site.

⁷⁶The relief is part of the lintel of the right portal; see Stoddard, fig. 100. For the date, *ibid.*, p. 148.

⁷⁷Carra Ferguson O'Meara (The Iconography of the Facade of Saint-Gilles-du-Gard, Outstanding Dissertations in the Fine Arts [New York, 1977]), documents the association of St. Gilles with the Holy Land and the Crusades and discusses the iconographic program of the facade in this context. Though she is aware of the importance of St. Bernard (pp. 129, 140-41), she overlooks the close correspondence between certain themes depicted on the frieze and Bernard's writings. Thus the frieze includes an extremely unusual scene, the Preparation for the Entry into Jerusalem (Stoddard, figs. 78-80), in which the apostles find the ass which Christ will ride into the city. Exactly this episode is the theme of much of St. Bernard's Sermo in Dominica Palma (P.L., CLXXXIV, 873-78), in which he explains that the ass and foal found by the apostles symbolize the virtues of humility and freedom, virtues "very necessary" for those who would follow Christ and bear His cross (*ibid.*, 874).

Also very probably related to St. Bernard is the emphasis on themes of anointing here: the Anointing at Bethany, the Holy Women Buying Perfume, and the Holy Women at the Tomb all appear (Stoddard, figs. 126, 99, 100). St. Bernard's strong interest in such themes will be discussed below (pp. 301-2 and note 81); in particular he held up the example of the holy women to his readers: "For what reason did the holy women visit the monument of Our Lord if you bring no unguents to that place?" (P.L., CLXXXIV, 171).

⁷⁸On this theme see Millet, Recherches, p. 499, Sandberg-Vavalà, Croce dipinta, p. 299; Réau, II, pt. 2, 522; Graeve, *passim*, Forsyth, p. 8; Schiller, II, 172; Deutchler, pp. 55-57; Joachim Poeschke, "Salbung Christi," Lexikon der Christlichen Ikonographie (1972). Occasional references to the Anointing appear earlier; thus in the St. Albans Psalter (fig. 185), one figure holds a vial of unguents. Both Graeve and Forsyth associate the interest in the theme at mid-century with the Second Crusade, and specifically with the Stone of Unction which the Franks could have seen in the East. But the object which Graeve identifies as the Stone of Unction in the Chartres relief (fig. 174) is, as shown below (see pp. 299-300), actually Christ's lectulus. Forsyth recognizes the oculi of the funeral bed (see p. 9), but nevertheless concurs with Graeve that the theme may reflect the Crusaders' exposure to the Stone of Unction. But he supposes that they saw the relic in Constantinople; in fact it did not come to Constantinople until 1169, some twenty years after the Second Crusade (on this see below, pp. 335-36).

⁷⁹The capital, now in the Museum at Dreux, was published by Pierre Pradel, Scultures romanes des musées de France (Paris, 1958), fig. 50; he dates it c. 1150 (p. 15).

⁸⁰London, British Museum, Cott. Nero CIV. See Francis Wormald, The Winchester Psalter (New York, 1973); he dates the manuscript on p. 83.

⁸¹See for instance, Quid sit ungere caput (P.L., CLXXXIII, 167-71); De triplici unguento, compunctionis, devotionis, pietatis (ibid., 708-10); De tribus unguentis spiritualibus (ibid., 819-24); De pretioso unguento pietatis (ibid., 828-33); De quator unguentis sponsi (ibid., 878-884); Odor unguentorum tuorum super omnia aromata (P.L., CLXXXIV, 171-77); Meliora sunt ubera tua vino, et odor unguentorum super omnis aromata (ibid., 165-71).

⁸²Ibid., 757: "Sunt enim hae species amarae quidem, sed corruptelam removentes. . . Hae sunt quasi librae centum, quae corpus Jesu in sepulcro fidelium, integrum et sanum custodiunt." Peter Comestor (P.L., CXCVIII, 1634) echoes Bernard in referring to the importance of the unguents in protecting Christ's body.

⁸³Williams, St. Bernard of Clairveau, p. 265, states that Robert, Count of Dreux, took the cross at Vézelay.

⁸⁴Wormald, Winchester Psalter, p. 125, suggests that the manuscript belonged to Henry of Blois, Bishop of Winchester, who had been a Cluniac monk. Henry was an associate of Peter the Venerable, Abbot of Cluny and close friend and supporter of Bernard (on their friendship see Williams, St. Bernard of Clairveau, pp. 388-90); it was Henry who presided at Peter's funeral in 1158 (ibid., p. 390).

⁸⁵The four-figure composition at Chartres and Dreux remains uncommon, but three men appear in a number of later versions of the theme, among them one in the Limoges Gospels (New York, Morgan Library, Ms. 44, fol. 10v.; Cook, "Earliest Painted Panels, VI," fig. 22) and a panel of the Shrine of Mary at Aachen (Cathedral Treasury; Schiller, II, fig. 590). A final detail may also allude to the Crusades: the caps worn by Joseph and Nicodemus especially in representations of the Anointing (for instance, in the Winchester Psalter, fig. 176, or the Limoges Gospels). These have been interpreted as indications of Jewishness, in reference to the fact that anointing the dead was a Jewish tradition (Schiller, II, 172-73). While this theory may be correct, it is interesting that in these scenes of the Anointing the caps are almost always conical, with a band or rim at the base; they bear a striking resemblance to the helmets worn by the Crusaders (see the drawing by Montfaucon of the Crusade window at St. Denis, or an

illumination in the Book of St. Edmund Morgan Library, Ms. 736, fol. 7v., both reproduced by Laura Hibbard Loomis, "The Oriflamme and the War-cry Montjoie," in Studies for Bella da Costa Greene, pp. 67-82, figs. 32 and 33). In the Anointing in the Winchester Psalter (fig. 176), even Christ wears a curiously helmet-like form of headgear.

⁸⁶The inscription is described by John of Wurzburg, who visited the Holy Sepulchre between 1160 and 1170; see PPTS, XIV, 37. Besides the sudden appearance of the Anointing in the visual arts of the later twelfth century, other developments of that period attest to the general, and widespread, interest in this theme. Thus two Anglo-Norman Easter plays of the third quarter of the century focus on the anointing of Christ's body instead of the shrouding, which was usually stressed (Hardison, pp. 253, 269). Possibly about the same time--though the date is less certain--a ceremony of consecrating the altar arose, which involved anointing it with oils and unguents (Hirn, pp. 71-72).

⁸⁷The few instances of the scene in Italian art before the Sarzana Cross generally belong to much lengthier narrative programs. Thus the Entombment appears in two South Italian works, the Salerno Antependium (fig. 177) and the fresco cycle at Sant'Angelo in Formis (fig. 178), but in each of these the entire program includes between fifteen and twenty scenes from the Passion and Resurrection. These and other instances of earlier Italian versions will be discussed below.

⁸⁸This monument was recently studied by Robert Bergman ("A School of Romanesque Ivory Carving in Amalfi," Metropolitan Museum Journal, 9 [1974], 163-86), who ascribes it to Amalfi, dates it 1084 (p. 181) and associates it with Montecassino (p. 173). On the Entombment specifically see Bergman, fig. 22, p. 176.

⁸⁹On the iconography of this fresco see Morisani, S. Angelo, p. 47.

⁹⁰These include an ivory plaque in the Metropolitan Museum, which Bergman (fig. 37, p. 182) dates c. 1100 and associates with the panel in Salerno, and the contemporary fresco in Sant'Urbano alla Cafferella, Rome (Wilpert, II, fig. 418), which may well also reflect a Cassinese model in view of Desiderius' election to the Papacy in 1086.

⁹¹The treatment of the holy women in the Threnos will be discussed in greater detail below, pp. 329-30.

⁹²Weitzmann, "Threnos," p. 486.

⁹³Cook's suggestion that this variant is an Italian innovation is not correct ("Earliest Painted Panels, VI," p. 327); it occurred earlier

in a Carolingian ivory in the Louvre (Millet, Recherches, fig. 523) and may well derive from Byzantine representations of the Entombment of Rachel, as Maguire suggests (p. 164, fig. 5).

⁹⁴This phase, in which the Virgin is present but does not touch her son, is ultimately Byzantine; before the Threnos reached its mature form, this preliminary stage appeared (see Weitzmann, "Threnos," pp. 481-82 and fig. 8). But no surviving Byzantine example resembles Gullielmus' composition in other respects, and thus it seems likely that he formulated it independent of a Byzantine model.

⁹⁵For the date see Kauffmann, p. 31.

⁹⁶Kauffmann, p. 32, states: "by far the most important single source is that of Ottonian art." Mourners similarly abound in the slightly earlier English manuscript, Pembroke 120, fol. 4v. (c. 1130; Parker, "Twelfth-Century Cycle," pl. XXXVIII); there, two men and two women watch as Joseph and Nicodemus bury Christ. The Virgin and John, however, are not among them. Parker, too, stresses throughout her article the importance of Ottonian prototypes to the English painter.

⁹⁷Salzburg, Stiftsbibliothek St. Peter, Cod. a. XXX. 7. See Swarzenski, Salzburger Malerei, I, 108-27, and Franz Unterkircher and Otto Demus, Das Antiphonar von St. Peter. Kommentarband (Graz, 1974).

⁹⁸Demus, Das Antiphonar, pp. 249-50, notes the unusual device of cutting off the figures by the frame.

⁹⁹The same pattern occurs in the fresco at Sant'Urbano (see note 90). As Pächt points out (p. 72, n. 7), it is ultimately Eastern; he notes its occurrence in the Coptic Gospel book in Paris (see note 48).

¹⁰⁰See Chapter IV, p. 137; Chapter VI, p. 215; for the links between Lucca and the Holy Roman Empire which might explain Gullielmus' awareness of Ottonian manuscripts, see note 110.

¹⁰¹The strongly felt influence of Salzburg in the whole right apron is especially interesting when one considers the curious sequence in which the narratives are arranged. Most extant crosses follow a definable order in the placement of the narrative scenes, proceeding consistently either from left to right or from top to bottom. But the arrangement of the scenes in the Sarzana Cross is governed by no discernable internal logic; the sequence begins on the left with two panels, then switches to the right apron and finally returns to the left. This haphazard sequence does succeed in placing the two panels representing Christ's sepulchre, the Entombment and the Maries at the Tomb, in the chalice base of the cross. This, at least, is

understandable in view of the long association of the chalice with Christ's tomb (see Victor H. Elbern, "Der eucharistische Kelche im frühen Mittelalter," Zeitschrift des deutschen Vereins für Kunstwissenschaft, 17 [1973], 117-88, especially 137-64.

¹⁰²Sticca, "Literary Genesis," p. 57. It is interesting that another cited by Sticca is Cardinal Alberic of Montecassino (d. 1088). From Italy this veneration of the Virgin travelled to England; a major figure in this process of transmission was Anselm of Bury St. Edmunds, formerly abbot of Santa Saba in Rome (Parker, "Twelfth-century Cycle," p. 263). The strongly Italianate Entombment in the St. Albans Psalter (fig. 185), which will be discussed below (pp. 315-17), thus seems to reflect both in its immediate model and in the broader context of the new devotion it expresses the strong influence of Italy.

¹⁰³Meditationes de Gestis Domini Jesu Christi; P.L., CXLIX, 589-602; De Gestis Domini Nostri Jesu Christi, P.L., CXLIX, 601-30. Both are listed in Migne as "spurious works."

¹⁰⁴P.L., CXLIX, 628:
Sed dolendo Domina mentem conservabat
Fidem firmam retinens nihil desperabat
I[m]mo juste doluit, et recte plorabat. . . .

¹⁰⁵P.L., CXLIX, 599:
Jam Virgo dulcissima, jam cessat ploratus
Ecce dolor Fili cessat tumultus
Instatque laetitiae dies exploratus
In quo jam a mortuis sit resuscitatus. . . .

¹⁰⁶P.L., CXLIX, 628:
Tunc hic, cui Dominus Matrem commendavit,
Johannes videlicet, lugentem levavit,
Urbemque Jerusalem cum ea intravit,
Et ei, ut Filius, bene ministravit.

¹⁰⁷The possibility that this figure is meant to represent Nicodemus rather than Joseph should not be overlooked. Nicodemus, to whom local legend ascribed the Volto Sancto, may have been accorded a special place in Lucchese Passion iconography. The rich costume usually associated with Joseph (see, for instance, Forsyth, p. 2) was at times in Tuscan painting reserved for Nicodemus, as the Deposition in Pisa No. 20 attests (see p. 281).

¹⁰⁸For a fairly complete compilation of instances of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries consult Deutchler, pp. 56-57. To his list can be added the capital at Dreux (fig. 175), the Limoges Gostel (see note

85), a fresco in the chapel of the Holy Sepulchre in the Cathedral at Winchester, which will be discussed below (fig. 184; see note 120), and a miniature in a late twelfth-century manuscript in The Hague (Royal Library, Ms. 76, F 5, fol. 21v.; Schiller, II, 172, n. 12).

¹⁰⁹Schiller, II, 170. The jar also appears, but the ointment is not poured over Christ, in the St. Albans Psalter (fig. 185) and in Pembroke 120 (see note 96); but neither composition otherwise resembles the Lucchese version.

¹¹⁰The close political alliance between Lucca and the Empire is well documented; see Janet Ross and Nelly Erichsen, The Story of Lucca (London, 1912), pp. 22-31. Frederick Barbarossa himself had been in Lucca in 1155 to confirm Lucchese privileges (*ibid.*, p. 27), and it does not seem unlikely that such imperial visits might have resulted in the transfer of Northern works of art, especially manuscripts, to Lucca; at least one Ottonian manuscript is still preserved in the Lucchese Biblioteca Pubblica (Goldschmidt, Die deutsche Buchmalerei [Florence and Munich, 1928] II, 83).

The notion of Ottonian influence in Lucca has not escaped attention; see Garrison, "Lucchese Passionary," p. 117 (cf. also Chapter IV, p. 137, note 24). But the question seems sufficiently important to warrant further study. Especially interesting, and thus far overlooked by art historians, is the fact that the link between Lucca and the Holy Roman Empire was not only political but spiritual as well. Schwarzmaier has recently demonstrated (pp. 356-68) that the Lucchese cult of the Holy Blood was closely related to an analogous cult centered in the North. As in Lucca, the cult arose with the acquisition of a vial of Christ's blood; the relic is mentioned in Carolingian records and in the tenth century was transferred to Reichenau. Schwarzmaier does not discuss the visual evidence of this cult in Ottonian art, but examples abound. Consider the extraordinary miniature from Reichenau (Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, Ms. 22, fol. 4v.; Black, fig. 17), in which a great crowd queues up to drink Christ's blood from a chalice, or the more frequent Ottonian images of Christ on the cross with a chalice at His feet (cf. Schiller, II, fig. 387; Black, fig. 19). It seems less than coincidental that it is precisely this sort of image which inspired the Luccese chalice-based cross, as Black has shown).

Other artistic evidence of the ties between Lucca and the Empire which seems specifically related to the cult of the Blood occurs in the typically Lucchese representations of the thieves on either side of Christ. In several Lucchese crosses--those in San Michele, the Museo Civico and Santa Giulia (see Garrison, Index, Nos. 501, 503, 504)--the thieves are shown with their arms hooked over the cross-beam and fastened behind their backs. The thieves rarely appear in any form whatsoever elsewhere in Italy (see Stubblebine, "Byzantine Sources," p. 180), and in Byzantine art they almost always appear with arms

outstretched on the patibulum (see, for instance, Millet, Recherches, figs. 464-67). But occasionally in the East (*ibid.*, fig. 455) and very frequently in Northern Europe, the thieves' arms are tied in exactly the fashion seen in the Lucchese crosses; the motif occurs especially in Reichenau illumination (see Schiller, II, figs. 392-94). The prominent position of the thieves in the Lucchese crosses may also be related to the cult of the Blood; the thieves serve to remind the viewer that Christ's bones were not broken as theirs were, and that instead His side was pierced, from which jets of blood and water flowed. In fact some notion of the sort of image which may have inspired the Lucchese combination of a chalice-based cross flanked by thieves still survives, in a Spanish illumination which is itself derived from a Carolingian prototype. In the Gerona Apocalypse (Schiller, II, fig. 389; John Williams, Early Spanish Manuscript Illumination [New York, 1977], pl. 29, p. 97, who notes the debt to a Carolingian model), Christ is affixed to the cross as blood pours from His hands, side and feet; that streaming from His feet is caught by a huge chalice. On either side soldiers break the legs of the thieves, whose arms are pinned behind them exactly as in the Lucchese crosses.

¹¹¹Bergman, p. 176, traces these motifs to an illumination from Montecassino, dated 1023, in the De Sepulchro chapter in Hrabanus Maurus' De Universo (Montecassino Library, Ms. 132, p. 327; Bergman, fig. 22). Other instances occur in an Exultet Roll in Capua (cited by Cook, "Earliest Painted Panels, VI," p. 338, n. 120) and in the door panel in the Cathedral of Benevento (Sandberg-Vavalà, Croce dipinta, fig. 257).

¹¹²John of Wurzburg, PPTS, XIV, 36: see also descriptions by the Russian abbot Daniel and the German Theoderich (cited in note 45). Schiller, II, 170 suggests that the ciborium in the Sant'Angelo fresco refers to the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem.

¹¹³The seal is published by L. H. Vincent in Vincent, P. D. Baldi, Luigi Marangoni and Antonio Barluzzi, II Santo Sepolcro di Gerusalemme (Bergamo, 1949), fig. 27; from Melchior de Vögué, Les Églises de la Terre Sainte (Paris, 1860), p. 185. For other representations of the shrine see Vincent et al., figs. 35, 39, 41; all show a flat-roofed colonnaded lower story surmounted by a colonnaded cupola.

¹¹⁴Thus the sanctuary lamp hanging from the central arch in the scene of the Three Maries similarly appears in the shrine, as represented on the seal; most pilgrims also note the presence of these lamps in the shrine (e.g., Daniel, PPTS, VI, 12; Theoderich, PPTS, XVII, 9). On the other hand, the crenellated tower which rises from the entire structure in the miniature must refer to the truncated wooden core, open at the top, which was exposed after the Crusaders' renovations of the church proper; the crenellations may actually refer to the squared wooden beams noted by pilgrims (see E. Baldwin Smith, The Dome [Princeton, 1950], pp. 16-21; for pilgrims' descriptions, PPTS, VI, Appendix II, p. 95).

¹¹⁵Why Italian artists depicted the shrine as a simple canopy on columns rather than the complex architectonic structure favored in the North (cf. figs. 181, 186, 188) is not altogether clear. Morisani (*S. Angelo*, p. 47) simply associates it with Byzantine models. While he may be correct, it is also possible that Italian artists drew inspiration from a more immediate source: the ciboria which commonly appeared in Italian churches above the altar. This form of church furnishing was unknown in Northern Europe; see Hirn, p. 27.

¹¹⁶Schwarzmeier, pp. 380-81, notes that the church of San Giorgio, Lucca, was transferred to Montecassino in 1056.

¹¹⁷*PPTS*, VI, Appendix II, 91; see also note 114.

¹¹⁸On the Klosterneuberg Altar see Peter Lasko, *Ars Sacra: 800-1200* (Harmondsworth and Baltimore, 1912), pp. 240-43.

¹¹⁹The possibility of a Byzantine prototype should not be dismissed; in the *Bewailing of Actaeon*, which Weitzmann associates with the *Threnos* ("Threnos," pp. 487-90; fig. 17), *Autonoë* takes her son's hand.

¹²⁰*Demus, Romanesque Mural Painting*, pp. 509-11. A descendent of this iconographic type occurs later in the North, in a panel by Master Franke in Hamburg (Schiller, II, fig. 579); there the Virgin similarly kisses Christ's hand. Though Christ is no longer being anointed, His half-exposed body betrays the ultimate parentage of the panel.

¹²¹See also, for instance, the *Ingeborg Psalter*, fol. 28v. (Schiller, II, fig. 587).

¹²²Another detail in the Klosterneuberg version which suggests its derivation from the Anointing is Christ's crossed hands. This motif, which probably stems from the Byzantine *Epitaphios* (cf. fig. 163), characterizes certain Northern representations of the theme (e.g. figs. 175, 181).

¹²³See Chapter VI, pp. 229-33.

¹²⁴See Chapter VI, p. 229. The Eucharistic meaning of the Entombment and Lamentation have been only occasionally noted in art historical literature; see Chapter VI, note 14.

¹²⁵This detachment may have continued to characterize Lucchese versions of the Entombment. In the Lucchese panel at Yale (Garrison,

Index, No. 679), the general stance of the Virgin, bending over Christ, reflects the Threnos-like iconography which had become almost omnipresent in Tuscany by mid-century (cf. figs. 152, 153, 154, 156, 158). Here, however, the Virgin does not actually press her cheek to Christ's but merely gazes at His face. This variant, first seen in this provincial Lucchese work (it more likely originated with one of the Berlinghieri), had important consequences. A lengthy passage of Pseudo-Bonaventura's Meditations describes the Virgin studying her son's face, and the same notion underlies Giotto's Lamentation in the Arena Chapel. This point will be discussed at greater length in the text of the paper; see pp. 345-46.

¹²⁶In earlier phases of the scene's development, Christ has already been shrouded; see Weitzmann, "Threnos," p. 484.

¹²⁷*Ibid.*, p. 486.

¹²⁸See note 93.

¹²⁹Pächt, pp. 71-72.

¹³⁰The only other example known to me is the variant at Sant' Angelo (fig. 178).

¹³¹The intriguing possibility of a connection with liturgical practice is suggested by a description of a Holy Sepulchre procession which still exists in Europe: "Priests carry the Blessed Sacrament in a procession to the side altar; the monstrance in which the Sacrament is borne is covered with a transparent veil of white lace to symbolize the burial shroud of Christ" (Francis X. Weiser, A Handbook of Christian Feasts and Customs [New York, 1958], p. 200).

¹³²It is possible that the English illuminator misunderstood this aspect of his Italian model. In the English version the figure burying Christ is beardless, but wears a short tunic; he bears a disconcerting resemblance to the nail-extractor in the preceeding page, the Deposition (Pächt, pl. 29-b).

¹³³Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, Bibl. McClean 22; see Swarzenski, Salzburger Malerei, I, 138-42. The close resemblance between the Hermitage icon and these Western images is especially interesting because a Latin inscription on the icon demonstrates that it had once been in Western hands (Le Roux, p. 483). The motif of folding the shroud over Christ returns in Late Byzantine art; see Millet, Recherches, figs. 560-62.

¹³⁴P.L., CXCVIII, 1634. Two distinct clothes also occur in the relief at Chartres (fig. 174).

¹³⁵P.L., CLXXXII, 1139-40; on the attribution of this text, see Chapter VI, p. 220.

¹³⁶See Chapter VI, pp. 220-21.

¹³⁷For the Acta Pilati see Donehoo, pp. 370-71; for George of Nicomedia, P.G., C, 1487; for Simeon Metaphrastes, P.G., CXIV, 209-18; P.G., CXV, 554-55. See also Millet, Recherches, pp. 489-90.

¹³⁸For Bernard see P.L., CLXXXIV, 757-58; for Peter Comestor, P.L., CXCVIII, 1634. See also note 82.

¹³⁹P.L., CLXXXII, 1138: "Hoc dum de cruce in terra depositum fuit, super ipsum ruens prae incontinentia doloris et immensitate amoris quasi mortua stabat. Stabat ad caput extincti filii sui mater Maria lacrymis faciem ejus rigans; per diversa torquebatur suspiria interius, frontem, et genas, oculos, quasi simul et nasum, omniaque frequentius osculabatur. . . .

Quaedam et lilae plorabant feminae sanctae, . . . pauci virorum . . . Joseph ab Arimathaea . . . quicum Nicodemo deposuerat Christi corpus de cruce . . . posuit cum in sindone munda conditum pretiosissimis aromatibus et posuit illud in monumentum novum, quod fecerat sibi alacriter, et devote. . . . Maria plorabat amare juxta sepulcrum, dum Joseph et Nicodemus Deum ponerent in sepulcrum. Volebat mater moesta simul sepeliri cum illo. Haec erat enixa super dilectum suum, amplectens illum cum omni amore, dulcissime deosculans ipsum, dicebat: Miseremini mei, amici mei . . . nolite eum tradere sepulturae tum cito . . . ; si illum ponitis in sepulcro, me miseram deponite cum illo. . . . Illi ponebant Christum in tumbam, et illa trahebat ad scipsam. . . . Accessit Johannes. . . . Plorantes plorabant, multaeque condolebant Mariae. . . .

¹⁴⁰Weitzmann, "Threnos," p. 486.

¹⁴¹A minor detail, Joseph arranging Christ's arm, also occurred earlier in the West, in the cloister relief at Santo Domingo de Silos (Cook, "Earliest Painted Panels, VI," fig. 20).

¹⁴²It does occur in the Hortus Deliciarum (Wilpert, II, fig. 419) and in the fresco at Aquileia (Valland, Aquileia, fig. 11). But neither of these depicts the Anointing of Christ.

¹⁴³As Millet points out (Recherches, p. 490), the motif may derive from Simeon Metaphrastes: "On my lap you have slept the sleep of an infant, now you sleep the sleep of death" (P.G., CXIV, 216; cf. also

Hartt, Michelangelo's Three Pietàs, p. 20). For the theological roots of this sort of juxtaposition between Christ's infancy and death, see Maguire, pp. 161-66.

¹⁴⁴ On this ivory see Weitzmann, "Threnos," pp. 483-85. The Virgin is similarly posed in the Psalter of Melisende (Millet, Recherches, fig. 534).

¹⁴⁵ Weitzmann, "Threnos," pp. 485-86.

¹⁴⁶ For examples of the usual treatment see Millet, Recherches, figs. 531, 533, 534, 535, 548, 560, 561. The full-length angel may be derived from the Koimesis; see Weitzmann, "Threnos," p. 485.

¹⁴⁷ Millet, Recherches, p. 492. There, too, the disciple at Christ's feet is not bent in full proskynesis. According to Weitzmann, in an ivory in Berlin John is not yet kissing Christ's hand, but his position is ambiguous ("Threnos," p. 486, fig. 14).

¹⁴⁸ Ibid., p. 484.

¹⁴⁹ A curious exception occurs in the Morgan Lectionary (fig. 116); there, the holy women take the place of Joseph and Nicodemus and kneel at Christ's feet. This miniature will be discussed below, pp. 344-45.

¹⁵⁰ Much the same formal principle recurs a century later in the great fresco by Giotto (fig. 195); this work, too, will be discussed at greater length below (see pp. 343-46).

¹⁵¹ Graeve, p. 228, traces this history; the arrival of the stone in Constantinople will be discussed further below, pp. 335-36.

¹⁵² On the Pisans in Constantinople see Charles M. Brand, Byzantium Confronts the West 1180-1204 (Cambridge, Mass., 1968), pp. 207-21.

¹⁵³ La conquista di Constantinopoli (1198-1216), trans. Anna Maria Nada Patrone (Genoa, 1972), p. 228; translation of this and another passage (see note 155) from Graeve, p. 228.

¹⁵⁴ John Cinnamus, "Historiam," P.G., CXIII, 645-46; Graeve, p. 228.

¹⁵⁵ La conquista di Constantinopoli, p. 228.

¹⁵⁶P.L., CLXXXII, 1139: "Rigabat lacrymis exstinctum filii corpus expositum, cum fuerat in lapide, quem madebat, in quo ejus lacrymae adhuc apparere ferunt."

¹⁵⁷The Lucchese San Michele Master certainly alludes to the Anointing in his two versions of the Entombment (figs. 149 and 150), but does not show it explicitly.

¹⁵⁸In certain Northern works, roughly contemporary with the Pisan cross, references to the Virgin's sorrow are united with the Anointing, but in these the Virgin merely weeps and does not embrace her son as in the Pisan panel. The most important of these are a panel in the Bury St. Edmunds Cross, probably 1181-90 (Thomas P. F. Hoving, "The Bury St. Edmunds Cross," Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, [1964], 317-40, fig. 2) and, slightly later, an illumination in the Ingeborg Psalter (cited in note 121). See also the fresco in the Holy Sepulchre Chapel, Winchester Cathedral (fig. 184).

Graeve, p. 229, associates Pisa No. 20 with the legend of the Anointing Stone, but does not realize the uniqueness of the Pisan image; she refers, p. 229, n. 41, to "other examples of the same iconography," but in the works which she cites the Anointing does not appear.

¹⁵⁹"Threnos," p. 476.

¹⁶⁰In the leaf in the Victoria and Albert (cf. fig. 179), the Entombment is shown in two illustrations: in the first, Joseph and Nicodemus hold Christ's body as the Virgin prepares it for burial; in the second, the disciples place it in the tomb. Sandberg-Vavalà, Croce dipinta, p. 679, terms the appearance of both scenes in a single word "rarissima."

¹⁶¹The two panels in Pisa No. 20 also recall the description of the Virgin's actions in the text ascribed to St. Anselm of Lucca: first she wept, then composed herself (see pp. 307-8).

¹⁶²Pächt, pp. 71-72.

¹⁶³Both John of Würzburg (PPTS, XIV, 36) and Theoderich (PPTS, XVII, 8-9) describe this feature.

¹⁶⁴John specifies eight, Theoderich ten (see note 163).

¹⁶⁵Pisan architecture of the mid-twelfth century similarly attests to this specifically Pisan interest in the Holy Sites,

especially in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. Thus the church of San Sepolcro explicitly copies this famous prototype (Pietro Toesca, *Storia dell'arte italiana*, I: *Il medioevo* (Turin, 1927), 553, 661; Richard Krautheimer, "Introduction to an Iconography of Medieval Architecture," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 5 [1942], 1-33), and the Baptistry of Pisa, begun in 1153, also imitates the same building--perhaps the only instance of a baptistry copying the Holy Sepulchre in medieval architecture (Krautheimer, pp. 31-32).

¹⁶⁶The oculi may occur in the Entombment in Uffizi No. 432 (fig. 152), but they are almost obscured by the acanthus foliage of the sarcophagus.

¹⁶⁷The motif appears in the bronze doors of the Cathedral at Pisa by Bonannus, in the panel of the Three Maries at the Tomb (Boeckler, pl. 25; see also Millet, *Recherches*, p. 527). It occurs, too, in the pulpit of the Cathedral of Cagliari, again in the Three Maries panel; the pulpit was executed by the Pisan Gullielmus (Toesca, p. 899, fig. 536). It is found elsewhere in Italy--in the Holy Sepulchre monument at Aquileia (Paolo Lino Zovatto, "Il Santo Sepolcro di Aquileia e la struttura del Santo Sepolcro di Gerusalemme," *Palladio*, 6 (1956), 31-40, figs. 5 and 6), in the tympanum of the west portal at Monte Sant' Angelo (Porter, pl. 197)--but Tuscan examples seem largely confined to Pisa.

¹⁶⁸The allusions in the Gospel Book of Henry the Lion were discussed in note 114. The illuminations in the Ashburnam Evangelary include the hanging sanctuary image (again see note 114) and the "cup-like dome" which also appears in Pisa No. 20; in the miniature (fig. 188) it is surmounted by a cross, a detail which Theoderich notes (*PPTS*, XVII, 9) and which also appears in the Crusader seal (fig. 182).

¹⁶⁹The same detail can be seen on the shrine in a sixteenth-century view of the interior of the Holy Sepulchre published by Vincent, fig. 19. Enrico's curious distinction between the two flanking towers, one gabled and one domed, is more difficult to interpret. It recurs in a contemporary Tuscan panel, the Lucchese Entombment at Yale (see note 125), but not, to my knowledge, elsewhere. It may also reflect Enrico's contact with Crusader artifacts; a mid-twelfth-century drawing of the Holy Sepulchre, published by Smith (fig. 6), represents the central rotunda flanked by a gabled bell tower and a domed structure, the Holy Calvary chapel.

¹⁷⁰In the Sarzana Cross (for a color plate see Campini, pls. I and II), Uffizi No. 432 (Carli, *Italian Primitives*, pl. 1), and Pisa No. 20 (*ibid.*, pl. 8), one of the holy women wears the red mantle that designates the Magdalen.

¹⁷¹For the gesture in Italian art see Barasch, pp. 57-64; for its origins in classical art and continuation in Byzantine art see Maguire, pp. 158-60. Barasch discusses the gesture primarily in the Dugento, Trecento and Quattrocento, but even Titian represents the Magdalen in a stance which clearly derives from this long tradition (in his Lamentation in Venice, Accademia; Schiler, II, fig. 614).

¹⁷²See, for instance, Laur. VI. 23, fols. 96 and 163 (Millet, Recherches, figs. 523 and 529).

¹⁷³Velmans, Peinture murale, fig. 100.

¹⁷⁴See note 142.

¹⁷⁵The steady chronological development of the motif may help date contested works. Thus in the Barberini Diptych (Millet, Recherches, fig. 4), which has been placed as early as the eleventh century and as late as the fourteenth (see Ratkowska, p. 313, n. 7), the central placement of this gesturing figure and the emphatic power of her gesture suggest the type, taken up by Enrico, which does not seem to occur before the thirteenth century.

¹⁷⁶See Chapter VI, pp. 243-44.

¹⁷⁷P.L., CXXXII, 1139: "Quaedem et illae plorabant feminae sanctae"

¹⁷⁸P.L., CLIX, 287: "tunc Maria Magdalena plus omnibus flere coepit super Dominum suum. . . ." For the date see Chapter VI, note 84.

¹⁷⁹See Chapter VI, p. 244 for the passage from the Tree of Life describing the Magdalen's sorrow.

¹⁸⁰A lengthy passage in the Meditations discusses her anguish, using such phrases as "her heart could hardly remain in her body for sorrow" (Ragusa and Green, p. 343). See also Chapter VI, p. 244.

¹⁸¹Again see Chapter VI, note 162.

¹⁸²Weitzmann, "Threnos," pp. 477-82.

¹⁸³Both are discussed by Weitzmann, "Threnos," p. 481.

184 Demus, Mosaics of Norman Sicily, p. 288, discusses the iconography of the mosaic, but his analysis is misleading. He states that the type is "frequent" in the twelfth century, but in fact it is most unusual; I know no exact parallel. The examples which he cites as comparable (p. 343, n. 301) bear no close resemblance to the version at Monreale, and two of them--miniatures in the Gospel Book of Gelat (see note 173) and in Vat. gr. 1156 (fig. 167) are actually examples of the Threnos.

185 The Bearing of the Body does occur in earlier Italian painting, as in two frescoes in Rome, in Sant'Urbano (cited in note 90) and in San Giovanni a Porta Latina (Wilpert, IV, fig. 255). But in each of these, only the two disciples appear; the other mourners depicted by the Florentine painter are nowhere in sight.

186 It is admittedly odd that this painter selected this relatively subdued moment to illustrate Christ's Entombment; most mid-century artists, both in this scene and elsewhere, preferred a higher emotional pitch. One wonders whether this restraint might not again be related to the cult of the Corpus Christi. Eucharistic implications were strongly felt in the similarly reserved Deposition on this cross (see Chapter VI, pp. 225-33), and the very moment depicted here, the carrying of Christ's body, seems appropriate to the eucharistic processions in which the host was carried to the "sepulchrum." Such processions, such as the Depositio ritual of Good Friday (see Chapter VI, note 16), were, according to L. A. Fisher (The Mystic Vision in the Grail Legend and in the Divine Comedy [New York, 1917], p. 97), "established by the middle of the thirteenth century."

187 Only two earlier Western instances which display a similar concentration on mourning are known to me: the miniature in the Hortus Deliciarum and the fresco at Aquileia (on both see note 142). Both, however, derive from the canonical Threnos; Coppo's, as will be seen, does not. According to Meiss (Late Fourteenth Century, p. 182), the Lamentation is unknown in Northern art before the later fourteenth century.

188 Byzantine Art and the West, pp. 224-25.

189 Ibid.

190 He states merely that the phase seen in Vat. gr. 1186 represents this codified form, "which basically does not change in later Byzantine art" ("Threnos," p. 487). Velmans discusses Paleologan works, but primarily in terms of their heightened expressiveness; she does not consider the introduction of the Anointing Stone in late versions of the scene (Peinture murale, pp. 102-06).

¹⁹¹Recherches, p. 500.

¹⁹²Ibid. Millet continued to pursue the Epitaphios and its iconographic development; see the two studies cited in note 39. Neither, however, discusses it in the context examined below.

¹⁹³See Recherches, figs. 544, 545, 550, 551, 552, 558, 559, 560, 561; Velmans, Peinture murale, figs. 107, 115.

¹⁹⁴Nicholas Choniates, P.G., CXXXXIX, 571-72; see Millet, Recherches, p. 498 and Graeve, p. 228. On the ceremonies celebrating the arrival of the relic in Constantinople see a twelfth-century manuscript cited by Venetia Cottas, Le théâtre à Byzance (Paris, 1931), p. 141, n. 42.

¹⁹⁵P.G., CXIII, 645-46; translation from Graeve, p. 228.

¹⁹⁶On Robert of Clari and the Liber de Passione see above, pp. 323-24; for the report of the Russian pilgrim see Millet, Recherches, p. 498.

¹⁹⁷Another possible influence should be noted: the Good Friday ritual also called the Epitaphios. On this liturgical custom see Cottas, Théâtre, pp. 138-41; Parker, Descent, pp. 128-29, n. 66. Though the precise chronology is unclear, the expansion of this rite, in which Christ is lamented on the Stone of Unction, may have occurred during the later twelfth century; Parker (Descent, p. 129, n. 66) relates it to the twelfth-century drama, the Christos Paschon. It is even conceivable that the expanded ritual originated with the presence of the Anointing Stone in Constantinople, though this is purely speculative.

A final factor which should not be overlooked is the possible relationship between the new image and the Eucharistic controversies which raged in the East during the twelfth century, especially those originating with the Bogomils. Bogomilism rejected both the doctrine of the Incarnation and the sacraments; the new Epitaphios, which fuses an image symbolizing the Eucharist with one stressing Christ's humanity, refutes two heretical positions held by the sect. On the Bogomils see The Cambridge Medieval History, IV: The Byzantine Empire, pt. 2, 192-93; Runciman, The Medieval Manichee (Cambridge, 1955), pp. 63-93.

¹⁹⁸Millet, Recherches, fig. 537; Broderies, I, pl. CLXXXVII, II, 104-105.

¹⁹⁹ As noted above, the Anointing Stone appears occasionally in Middle Byzantine art, as in the steatite icon in the Hermitage (fig. 165). But only in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries does the relic commonly appear in the Threnos. See the examples cited in note 193.

²⁰⁰ The same sort of speckled marble occurs earlier, as in the Ingeborg Psalter (see note 121)--which also represents Christ on the Anointing Stone. The texture of the sarcophagus in Enrico's panel (fig. 156) may derive from the same source, though Enrico endows Christ's tomb with the oculi that belong properly on His funeral bed--exactly the sort of misunderstanding that we have come to expect from the Pisan painter (see Chapter VI, pp. 238-39).

²⁰¹ Maguire, pp. 132-51, discusses this gesture at length; he traces it specifically to classical images of mourning.

²⁰² Maguire, pp. 128-30, quotes Early Christian and Byzantine writers who condemn "immoderate weeping" for this reason; he specifically discusses the restraint of the mourners in Middle Byzantine Lamentations on p. 132.

²⁰³ Ibid., fig. 11, p. 132. The gesture is even clearer in later Dugento examples noted by Barasch (figs. 28, 33, 34b, 36); Coppo's, however, seems to be the earliest.

²⁰⁴ For this fresco see Velmans, *Peinture murale*, pp. 105-6. The woman at Ohrid actually seems to tear her hair, though her pose is closely related to that of the cheek-lacerating mourners in the Sopoćani Koimesis. Both actions may have also been suggested by Coppo; his Magdalen is in too poor a state to judge.

²⁰⁵ Barasch, p. 88. The practice of tearing the face in grief can be traced to classical antiquity; Maguire quotes Cicero who condemns this self-laceration by mourners as "detestable" (pp. 127-28).

²⁰⁶ See the discussion above, pp. 324-25 and note 156.

²⁰⁷ P.L., CLIX, 286; see also note 178.

²⁰⁸ St. Bernard's lengthy discussion of the anointing was examined above, p. 301; Peter Comestor, writing not long after, also carefully notes the unguents brought by Nicodemus and their purpose, as well as the cloths in which Christ was wrapped (see notes 82 and 134).

²⁰⁹Ogier notes the embalming and enshrouding of Christ (P.L., CLXXXII, 1138-40) and twice mentions the actual entombment: "[Joseph] placed Him in a new monument, which he did with haste and devotion. . . . They put Christ in the tomb, and [Mary] withdrew . . ."; see pp. 317-19 and note 139. Pseudo-Bede's De Meditatione Passionis Christi (P.L., XCIV, 568) similarly discusses both these preparations and the Virgin's sorrow.

²¹⁰"And when He had been placed in the tomb . . ." ("et cum in sepulchrum positus fuisset . . .")--P.L., CLIX, 286).

²¹¹The text seems to be the first to discuss John's grief at length, and it similarly describes the laments and bitter tears of Peter, James and other apostles. I know no earlier text which even places these men at the scene; even Pseudo-Bonaventura records the presence only of Joseph and Nicodemus, the Virgin, John and Mary Magdalen (Ragusa and Green, pp. 342-45).

²¹²Maguire points out that in Byzantine art, this self-injuring gesture does not occur in New Testament narrative scenes until the thirteenth century; he cites as an example the Threnos in Ochrid, Peribleptos (Hamman-MacLean--Hallensleben, fig. 128; Maguire, pp. 129-32). For hair pulling in Florentine funeral customs see the passage from Boncompagni quoted above (p. 338; note 205).

²¹³This example is found on Fra Gullielmus' pulpit in Pistoia, San Giovanni Fuorcivitas, completed in 1270; Schiller, 11, fig. 599.

²¹⁴For examples see Millet, Recherches, figs. 544 and 550.

²¹⁵Hartt, History, fig. 551.

²¹⁶Ibid., p. 463; Hirn, p. 133.

²¹⁷P.L., CXCVIII, 1634: "Et quia in simplici sindone involutum est corpus Jesu, instituit Sivester papa, ut sacrificium altaris in lineo tantum panno celebretur."

¹²⁸J. B. O'Connell, "Altar," New Catholic Encyclopedia (1967).

²¹⁹For the documents on the commission see Coor, "Visual Basis," pp. 238-39.

²²⁰For a photograph see Hartt, History, fig. 26. He dates the panel c. 1265; Ragghianti (pp. 73-74) and Coor ("Coppo," pp. 4-6)

date it between 1265 and 1268; Garrison (Index, No. 25) between 1265 and 1270. Coor, "Visual Basis," p. 237, assumes that Coppo worked in Umbria between 1265 and 1275.

²²¹At times, as in the Ingeborg Psalter (cited in note 121) Christ's wounds are shown as quite bloody, and possibly still bleeding. In this instance, however, the artist may simply have intended to represent the blood that had caked on Christ's body from the wounds, and thus the need for the cleaning and anointing of the body, the moment which the illuminator represents. In any case, such examples are unusual; further, no possible ambiguity occurs in the Pistoia panel, where blood spurts up from the wound.

²²²For a color photograph see Bologna, pl. 69.

²²³This is not the only version of the scene which seems to allude to the miracle. Another occurs in the Lamentation in a large altarpiece in the Pinacoteca of Perugia, c. 1280-90 (Schiller, II, fig. 598). Here, too, the shroud is prominently featured, though not as ceremoniously displayed as in the Pistoia panel, and blood flows from the wound in Christ's side onto the shroud. Significantly, the altarpiece is the work of an Umbrian artist.

²²⁴On the Isaac Master's work in the Upper Church see, most recently, Belting, Oberkirche; see also the comparison between these two compositions drawn by Smart, p. 28, pls. 36 and 37.

²²⁵Schiller, II, 175; Demus, Byzantine Art and the West, p. 225. In his assumption that "Giotto . . . was not dependent on his Italian predecessors," Demus seems to overlook the Isaac Mater's fresco at Assisi (fig. 156).

²²⁶Weitzmann states that he knows no parallel for this motif ("Threnos," p. 367).

²²⁷Ragusa and Green, p. 342.

²²⁸Ibid.

²²⁹"The body thus prepared, they looked for the Lady to make an end, and all turned again to lamentations. Then, seeing that it was not possible to delay any longer, she placed her cheek against the face of her most beloved Son. . . ." (ibid., pp. 343-44).

²³⁰Schiller, II, 175.

²³¹The Italian dependence on Byzantine prototypes for representations of the Lamentation does not stop with the Dugento and early Trecento. Millard Meiss has raised the interesting problem of the sources of Giovanni di Paolo's Entombment in the Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore ("Some Remarkable Early Shadows in a Rare Type of Threnos," in *Festschrift Ulrich Middeldorf*, ed. Antje Kosegarten and Peter Tigler [Berlin, 1968], pp. 112-18, fig. 1). He correctly assumes a Byzantine source, but cites a Middle Byzantine Bearing of the Body, the illumination in Copte 13 (his fig. 4; see also note 48); as the most likely sort of antecedent; in fact he states that "for the man who extends his arms to receive the body I can find no closer precedent" (p. 113). But two works published by Millet, a fresco at Dochiariou (*Recherches*, fig. 525) and a panel from the Bessarion Reliquary (*ibid.*, fig. 526) provide a much closer indication of the sort of Byzantine model which was adapted by the Sienese painter. In each one finds exactly the iconographic points which, as Meiss observes, do not occur in Copte 13: (1) the fact that the Threnos is enacted by standing figures who have not yet placed Christ on the ground; (2) the emphasis on the Virgin's grief; (3) the disciple who reaches, arms outstretched, for Christ's body; and (4) the sarcophagus inside the cave--a detail which Meiss describes as "definitely un-Byzantine" (p. 114; see note 51 for Middle Byzantine instances of this combination). Even certain stylistic features link the Walters Lamentation with such works; thus the careful description of the jagged rocks in the Dochiariou fresco, with each small facet clearly delineated, is almost identical to their treatment in the Sienese panel.

It would seem, then, to have been works much like these--of which Meiss himself was aware (he cites them on p. 117, n. 9, but apparently dismissed them as indications of the Byzantine prototype)--which lay behind Giovanni di Paolo's unusual composition. The comparison demonstrates that at least occasionally Tuscan artists continued to avail themselves of Byzantine models, even on the eve of the Renaissance.

CONCLUSION

Scholarly understanding of the artistic relationship between East and West, specifically between Byzantine and Italian art in the thirteenth century, has undergone a long process of development, and this process continues today. For centuries the vituperations of Renaissance commentators echoed: Byzantine influence on the Dugento was depicted as pernicious and stultifying. Though traces of this Vasarian attitude can be detected even today, a sharply different approach is being expounded by major scholars: Byzantine influence on Tuscan art is instead considered as a beneficial, positive force. Proponents of this view, who examine the specific impact of Byzantium far more thoroughly than did "Vasarian" critics, at times go so far as to view Byzantium as the primary determining factor in shaping the art of the Dugento: an "exclusive" source of inspiration,¹ the impact of which was "overwhelming."²

The debt of Dugento painters to Constantinople was unquestionably deep. Stylistically Byzantine art offered Italian painters much to emulate, as Stubbletine and Demus have shown;³ indeed, one purpose of this study has been to document further the precise types of Byzantine models available in thirteenth-century Tuscany. Nevertheless it seems that the case for Byzantium has been at times overstated. At least with respect to Passion iconography, Italian artists seem to view Byzantine versions of certain themes with something less than enthusiasm. In some instances, such as the Mocking of Christ and the Way to

Calvary, Tuscan painters rejected outright the Byzantine iconographic type to which their predecessors had adhered and replaced it with a type of purely Western parentage. In others, such as the Mounting of the Cross, they took a Byzantine image as a point of departure but recast it to create a new theme. And even when they adopted an Eastern version in its entirety--as in the Betrayal, the Deposition and the Entombment--that image generally corresponded closely to the literary description of that episode found in contemporary Western devotional writing. This correspondence between Latin texts and the Greek iconographic types adopted in Tuscany suggests that the ultimate roots of the "maniera greca" may be more complex than is frequently suggested: Dugento painters, or their theological advisors, seem to have been motivated less by the "magnetic pull" of Byzantium⁴ than by the degree to which Eastern iconographic types expressed prevailing currents in Western devotional thought and practice.

Thus the changes that were occurring in Italian religiosity during the thirteenth century--specifically, the new humanistic view of Christ and His Passion popularized largely by the Franciscans--seem to have been the underlying cause of the iconographic changes that characterize so many Passion scenes; duplication of Byzantine images was a means to an end--the visual expression of these new concepts--rather than an end in itself. It may be precisely for this reason that the impact of Byzantine art on the Dugento was so fruitful. Without the critical and discriminating attitude with which Tuscan painters approached their Eastern sources, it seems likely that the end result of the "maniera greca" would have been a creative cul-de-sac

characterized by dry and mechanical replication rather than the flowering of Italian art in the late Dugento and early Trecento.

NOTES

¹Stubblebine, "Byzantine Influence," p. 100; see the Introduction, p. 4.

²Demus, Byzantine Art and the West, p. 208; see the Introduction, p. 4.

³Stubblebine, "Byzantine Influence," "Byzantine Sources;" Demus, Byzantine Art and the West.

⁴Stubblebine, "Byzantine Influence," p. 97; see the Introduction, p. 4.

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TABLE I:

THE TRIAL BEFORE THE PRIESTS AND THE TRIAL BEFORE
PILATE IN BYZANTINE ART

Monument	Date	Annas and/or Caiaphas	Pilate
Gaza, St. Sergius	6th c.		x
Rosano Gospels, fols. 8r., v.	6th c.		x
Rabula Gospels, fol. 12v.	6th c.		x
Ravenna, S. Apollinare Nuovo	6th c.	3 priests	x
*Qeledjlar	10th c.	A&C	x
Sinassos	10th c.		x
Tokali Kilisse	10th c.		x
Tchaouch-In	10th c.		x
Constantinople, Holy Apostles	9th c.	x?	
Khludov Psalter, fols. 31v.	9th c.	x	
Pantocrater Psalter, fol. 39v.	9th c.	x	
Paris gr. 115, fol. 132v.	10th c.	A&C	
Dionysiou 587, fol. 59r	1059	x	
Theodore Psalter, fol. 2r.	1066	A&C	
Theodore Psalter, fol. 39r.	1066	A,C,P	
*Irhala, Kokar	1050-1100	A&C	
Irhala, Pürenli Seki	1050-1100	A&C	
Icon, Mt. Sinai	1050-1100		x
Paris gr. 74 (11 fols.)	1050-1100	x (A,C)	x
Florence, Laur. VI 23 (7 fols.)	1050-1100	x	x
Barberini Psalter, fol. 34r.	1092	A,C,(P)	
Icon, Mt. Sinai	c. 1100		x
Vatican gr. 1156, fol. 194v.	c. 1100	x?	
Vatican gr. 1927, fol. 37v.	1100-1150	A&C	
Pskov	1156	A&C	
*Kiev, Sta. Sophia	12th c.	x	
*Copte 13, fol. 80v.	1178-80	x	x
*Nereditsa	1199	A&C	x
Steatite, Benaki	12th c.	A&C	
Steatite, Walters	12th c.	A&C	
Paris suppl. gr. 914, fol. 146v.	12th c.	x	
Ktima, St. Neophytos	c. 1200		x
Morgan 692, fols. 222r, 223r.	c. 1200	A&C	x
Athens 820, fol. 116v.	1200-1225		x
Leningrad 105, fol. 103r.	1200-1225	A&P	
*Brit. Mus. Add. 7170, fol. 145r.	1216-1220	A&C	
*Vat. sir. 559, fol. 133r.	1219-1220	x	
Mileševa	1235	x?	x?
Mistra, St. Theodore	c. 1290	x	
Ohrid, St. Clement	1295	x	x
Prilep, St. Nicholas	1298-1299		x

TABLE I (continued)

Monument	Date	Annas and/or Caiaphas	Pilate
*Čučer, St. Nikita	1307	A&C	
Verroia	1315	x	
*Staro Nagoričina	1317	x (A,C)	x
Gračanica	1321	x (A,C)	x

x = single figure

* = Caiaphas rends garments

Note: Photographs of most of the works listed above may be found in the Princeton Index.



1. Gulielmus. Betrayal, from the Sarzana Cross. Sarzana, Cathedral



2. Betrayal, from Uffizi No. 432. Florence, Uffizi



3. Betrayal, from the Rosano Cross. Rosano, Santa Maria



4. Betrayal, from the Tereglio Cross. Tereglio, Santa Maria



5. Coppo di Marcovaldo. Betrayal, from the San Gimignano Cross. San Gimignano, Pinacoteca



6. Salerno di Coppo. Betrayal, from the Pistoia Cross. Pistoia, Cathedral



7. Enrico di Tedice. Betrayal, from the San Martino Cross. Pisa, San Martino



8. Castellare Master. Betrayal, from the Castellare Cross. Pisa, Soprintendenza



9. Castellare Master. Betrayal, from a vertical dossal, Madonna and Child with Passion Scenes. Florence, Bargello



10. Betrayal, from the Santa Marta Cross. Pisa, Santa Marta



11. Betrayal , from a sarcophagus. Verona, San Giovanni in Valle



12. Betrayal. Rabula Gospels, Florence, Laurentian Library, Ms. Plut.
I. 56, fol. 12r.



13. Betrayal. Ravenna, Sant'Apollinare Nuovo



14. Betrayal. Florence, Laurentian Library, Ms. Plut. VI. 23, fol. 55r.



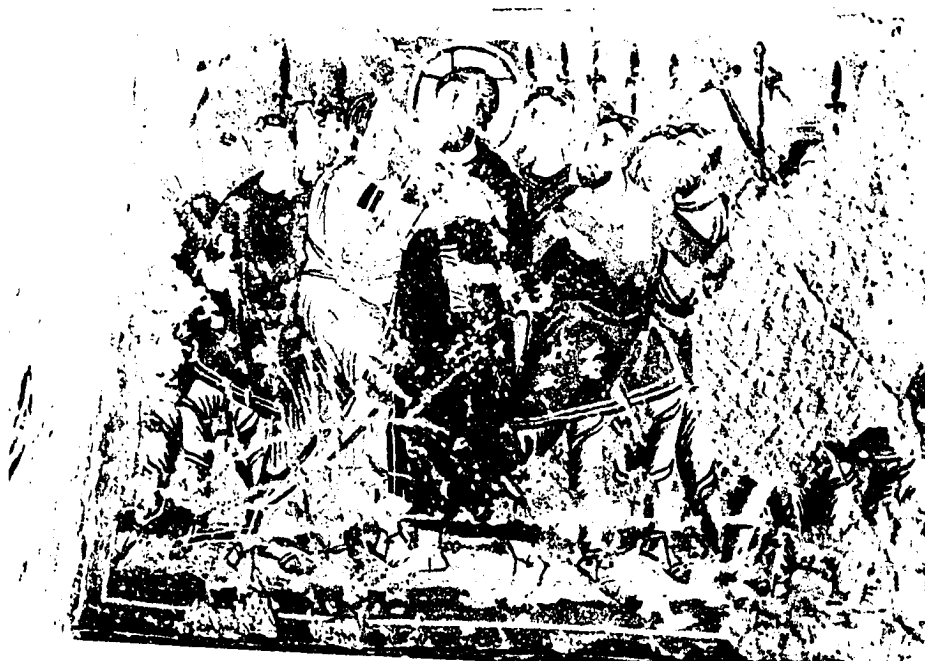
15. Betrayal. Theodore Psalter, London, British Museum, Add. Ms. 19352, fol. 45v.



16. Betrayal. Qaranleq



17. Betrayal. St. Neophytos, near Ktima



18. Betrayal. Göreme, Chapel 15-a



19. Betrayal. Daphni, Monastery church



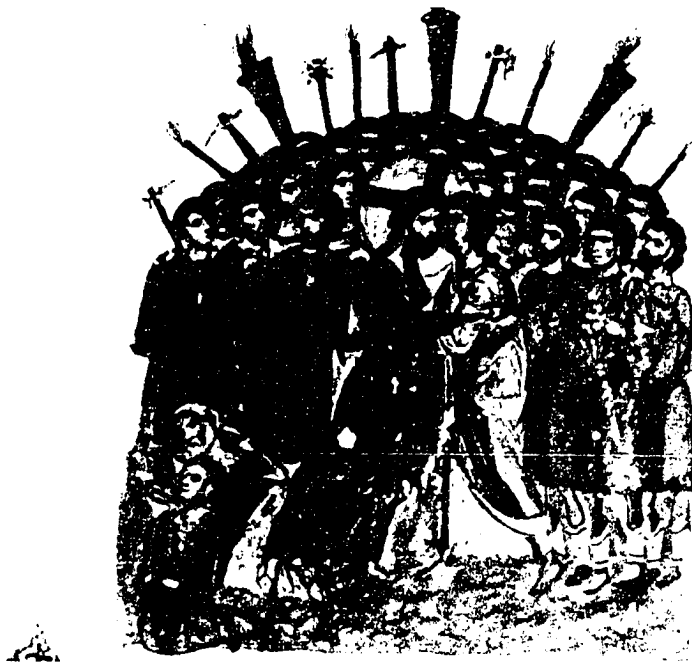
20. Betrayal. New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, Ms. 639, fol. 268v.



21. Betrayal. Mt. Athos, Monastery of Dionysiou, Ms. 589m., fol. 104v.



22. Betrayal. Rome, Vatican Museum, Ms. gr. 1156, fol. 194r.



23. Betrayal. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. suppl. gr. 27, fol. 118v.



24. Betrayal. Chios, Nea Moni



25. Betrayal. Parma, Biblioteca Palatina, Ms. 5, fol. 90r.



26. Betrayal. Cimitile, SS. Martiri



27. Betrayal. Egbert Codex, Trier, Stadtbibliothek, Ms. 24, fol. 79v.



28. Betrayal. Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine, Ms. 364, fol. 24r.



29. Betrayal. Monreale, Cathedral



30. Betrayal. Fondi Exultet, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. N. Acq.
lat. 710



31. Betrayal. Venice, San Marco



32. Betrayal. St. Albans Psalter, Hildesheim, St. Godehard, Library, fol. 42



33. Betrayal. Sant'Angelo in Formis, near Capua



34. Betrayal. Djurdjeri Stupovi



35. Betrayal. Assisi, San Francesco, Upper Church



36. Betrayal. Berlin, Staatliche Museum, Ms. gr. quarto 86, fol. 69r.



37. Trial of Christ, from Uffizi No. 434. Florence, Uffizi



38. Coppo di Marcovaldo. Trial of Christ, from the San Gimignano Cross.
San Gimignano, Pinacoteca



39. Salerno di Coppo. Trial of Christ, from the Pistoia Cross. Pistoia, Cathedral



40. Trial of Christ, from the Santa Marta Cross. Pisa, Santa Marta

ἡσυχία πᾶσι· ἐπὶ τῇ δεξιᾷ αὐτοῦ μέγα πρῶτον
 αὐτῶν ἐξουσία καὶ ἐξουσία αὐτῶν· καὶ ὁ λόγος
 συνέδριον δὲ πᾶσι τοῖς ἀποστόλοις·
 καὶ παρέδωκεν αὐτοῖς τὸ πᾶν·



καὶ ὁ λόγος ἐστὶν ἐν αὐτοῖς· καὶ ὁ λόγος
 ἐστὶν ἐν αὐτοῖς· καὶ ὁ λόγος ἐστὶν ἐν αὐτοῖς·

41. Trial of Christ. Leningrad, State Library, Ms. gr. 105, fol. 103r.



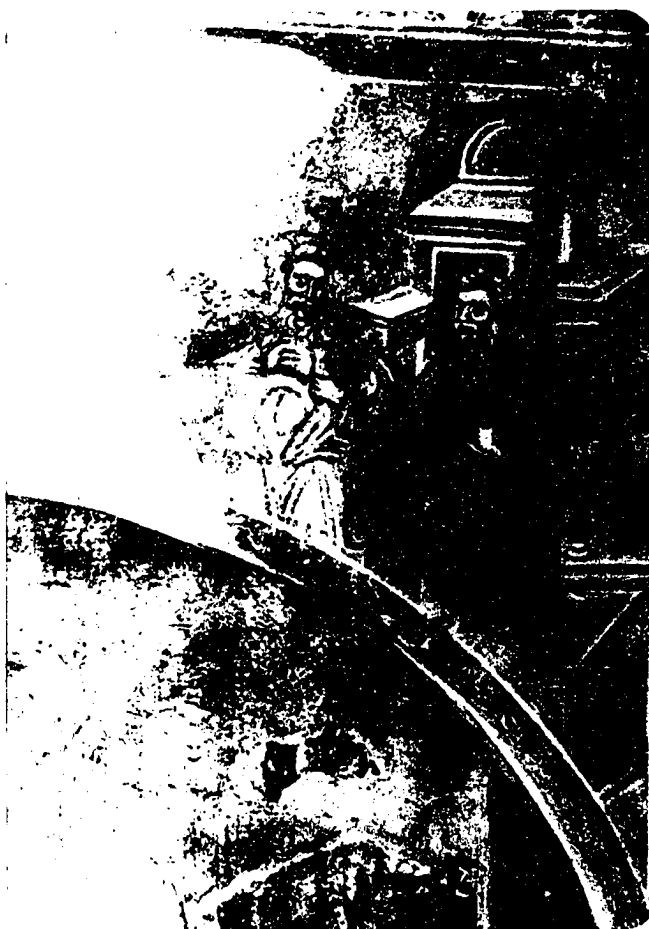
42. Trial of Christ. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. gr. 74, fol. 57v.



43. Mocking of Christ, Denial of Peter, Christ before Pilate. Golden Gospels of Henry III. Escorial, Ms. Vetrinas 17, fol. 82r.



44. Trial of Christ. Pskov, Mirozhsky Monastery



45. Trial of Christ. Čučer, St. Nikita



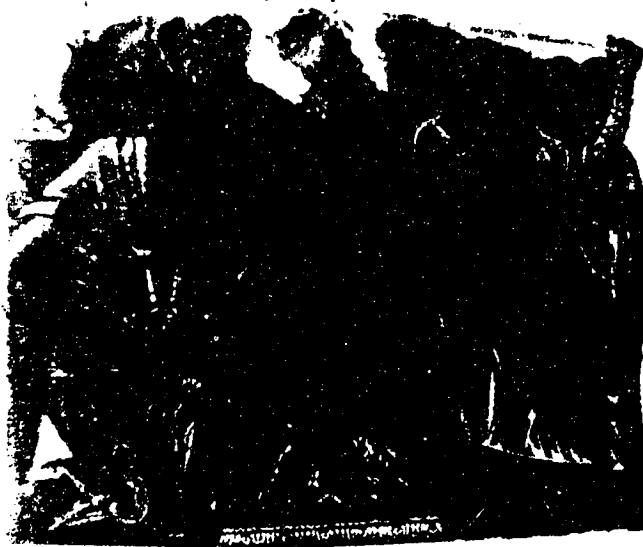
46. Trial of Christ. St. Neophytos, near Ktima



47. Mocking of Christ, from Pisa No. 15. Pisa, Museo Civico



48. Enrico di Tedice. Mocking of Christ, from the San Martino Cross. Pisa, San Martino



49. Mocking of Christ, from Uffizi No. 434. Florence, Uffizi



50. Coppo di Marcovaldo. Mocking of Christ, from the San Gimignano Cross.
San Gimignano, Pinacoteca



51. Mocking of Christ, from the Santa Marta Cross. Pisa, Santa Marta



52. Mocking of Christ. Sant'Angelo in Formis, near Capua



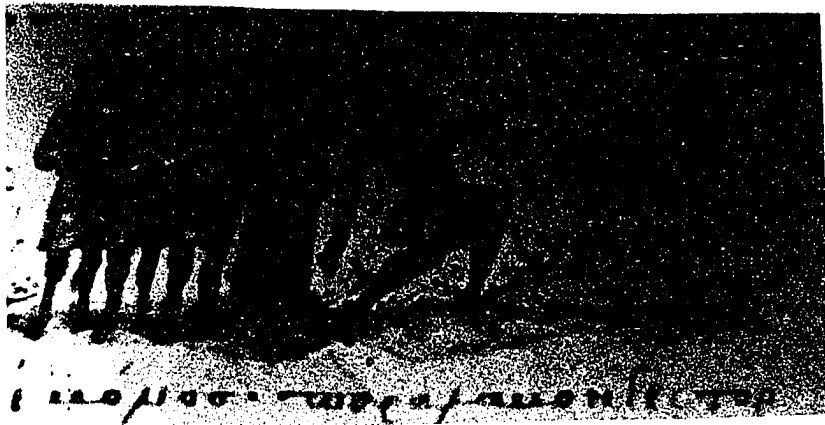
53. Mocking of Christ, Carrying of the Cross. Venice, San Marco



54. Mocking of Christ. Zillis, St. Martin



55. Mocking of Christ, from a gold antependium. Aachen, Cathedral Treasury



56. Mocking of Christ. Florence, Laurentian Library, Ms. Plut. VI. 32, fol. 58r.



57. Mocking of Christ. Florence, Laurentian Library, Ms. Plut. VI. 23, fol. 160r.



58. W. de Brailles. Mocking of Christ. London, British Museum, Add. Ms. 49999, fol. 1r.



59. Mocking of Christ. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. gr. 74, fol. 55v.



60. Mocking of Christ. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. gr. 74, fol. 98v.



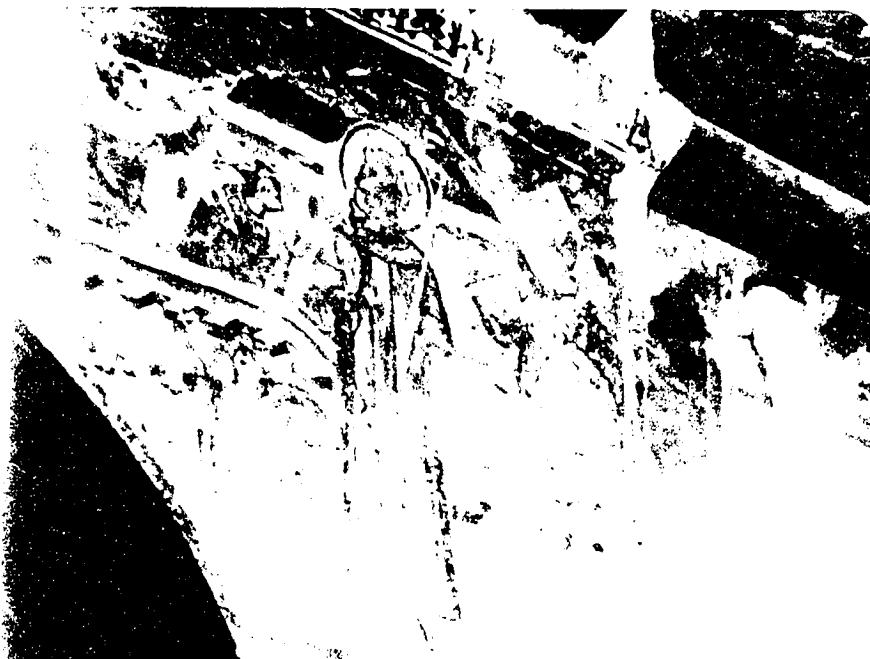
61. Mocking of Christ. Rome, Vatican Museum, Ms. gr. 1927, fol. 57r.



62. Mocking of Christ. Gelat Gospel Book. Tbilisi, Institute of Manuscripts



63. Mocking of Christ. Prilep, St. Nicholas



64. Mocking of Christ. Čučer, St. Nikita



65. Mocking of Christ. Staro Nagoričina, St. George



66. Job Mocked by his Friends. Catena in Job, Rome, Vatican Museum, Ms. gr. 749, fol. 179v.



67. Job Mocked by his Wife. Moralia in Job, Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, Ms. bibl. 41, fol. 29



68. Job Mocked by his Friends. Pantheon Bible. Rome, Vatican Museum, Ms. lat. 12958, fol. 257



69. Mocking of Christ. New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, Ms. 101



70. Mocking of Christ. Stained glass window. Paris, Ste.-Chapelle



71. Mocking of Christ. Moscow, Museum of Fine Arts.



72. Gulliellmus. Way to Calvary, from the Sarzana Cross. Sarzana, Cathedral



73. Way to Calvary, from Uffizi No. 432. Florence, Uffizi



74. Way to Calvary, from the San Frediano Cross. Pisa, San Frediano



75. Enrico di Tedice. Way to Calvary, from the San Martino Cross.
Pisa, San Martino



76. Castellare Master. Way to Calvary, from a vertical dossal, Madonna and Child with Passion Scenes. Florence, Bargello



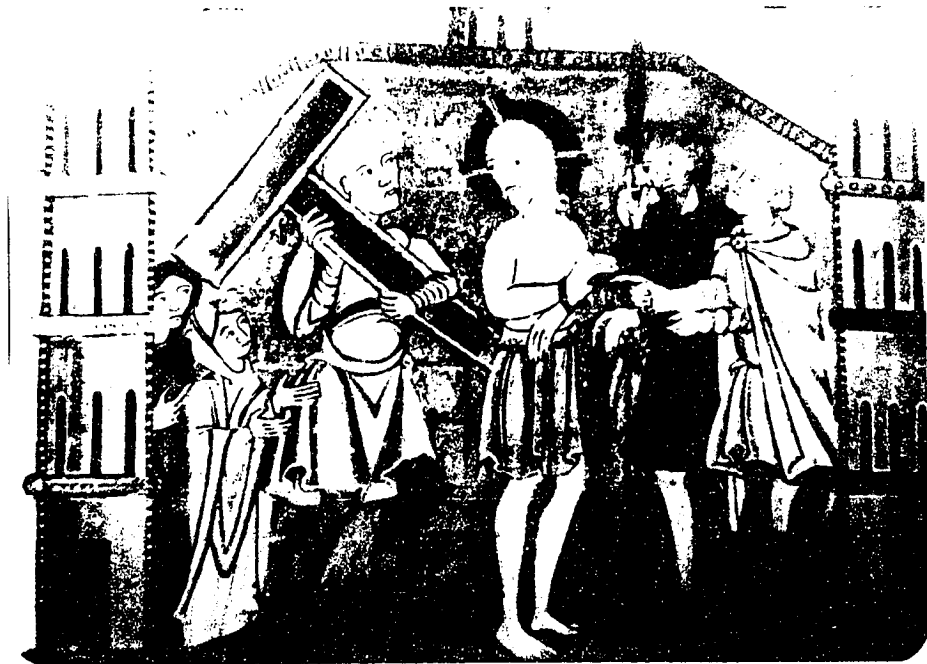
77. Way to Calvary, from Uffizi No. 434. Florence, Uffizi



78. Way to Calvary. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. gr. 74, fol. 161r.



79. Way to Calvary. Florence, Laurentian Library, Ms. Plut. VI. 23, fol. 161r.



80. Way to Calvary. Salzburg Gospels, New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, Ms. 781, fol. 178v.



81. Way to Calvary. St. Albans Psalter. Hildesheim, St. Godehard, Library fol. 23v.



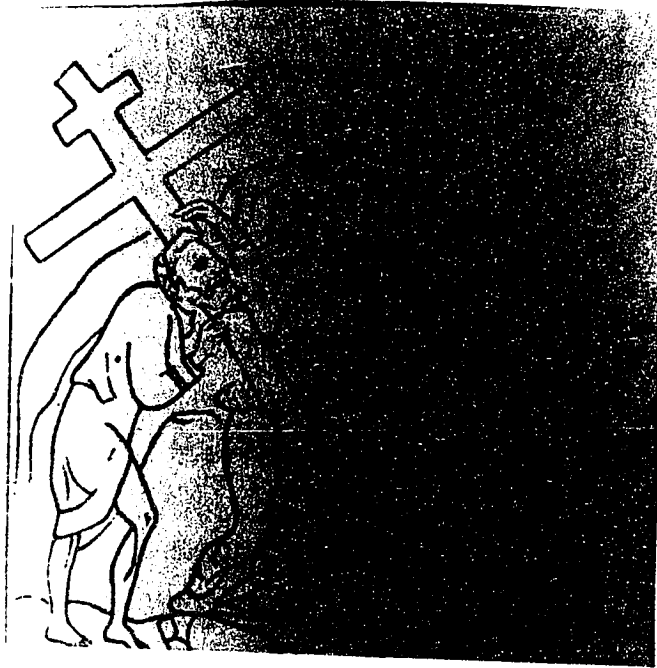
82. Way to Calvary. Bronze door panel. Verona, San Zeno



83. Way to Calvary. Florence, Laurentian Library, Ms. Plut. VI. 23, fol. 58r.



84. Pilate, Way to Calvary, Denial of Peter. Ivory plaque. London, British Museum



85. Way to Calvary. Athens, National Library, Ms. 93, fol. 84r.



86. Way to Calvary. Leningrad, State Library, Ms. gr. 105, fol. 167r.



87. Way to Calvary. Ingeborg Psalter, Chantilly, Musée Condé, Ms. 1695, fol. 26v.



88. Way to Calvary. Berlin, Staatliche Museum, Ms. gr. quarto 66, fol. 253v.



89. Coppo di Marcovaldo. Mounting of the Cross, from the San Gimignano Cross. San Gimignano, Pinacoteca



90. Preparation for the Crucifixion, from an icon. Mt. Sinai, St. Catherine



91. Preparation for the Crucifixion, from the Esztergom Reliquary. Esztergom, Cathedral Treasury



92. Preparation for the Crucifixion. Rome, Vatican Museum, Ms. lat. 39, fol. 64v.



93. Preparation for the Crucifixion. Monreale, Cathedral



94. Preparation for the Crucifixion. Mt. Athos, Iviron, Ms. 5, fol. 214



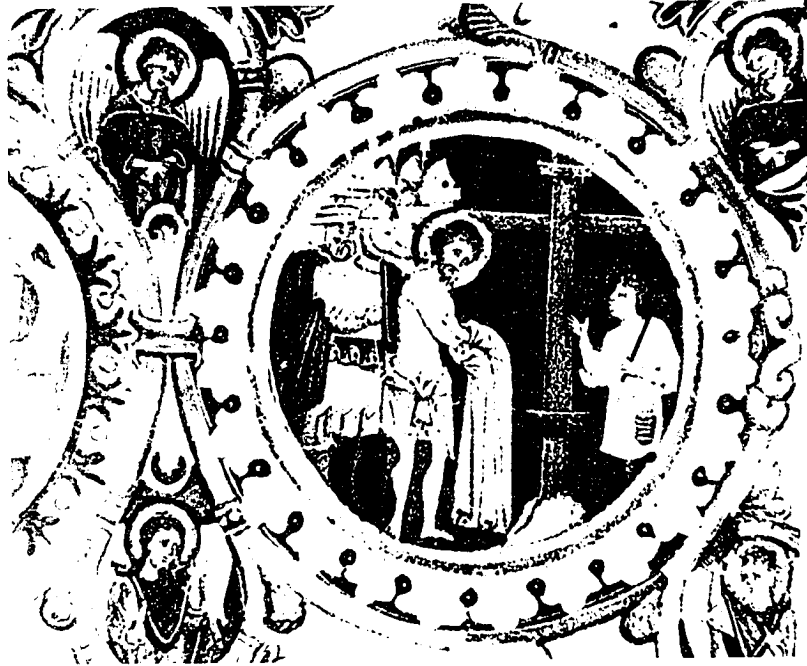
95. Preparation for the Crucifixion. London, Victoria and Albert Museum, Ms. 661



96. Guido da Siena. Mounting of the Cross. Utrecht, Centraal Museum, Archiepiscopal Collection



97. Stripping of Christ. San Sebastiano, monastery



98. Stripping of Christ. Bible, Collection of Dyson Perrins, fol. 3v.



99. Stripping of Christ and Mounting of the Cross. Melk, Stiftsbibliothek, Ms. 1833, fol. 47v.



100. St. Francis Master. Stripping of Christ. Assisi, San Francesco, Lower Church



101. Gulliellmus. Deposition, from the Sarzana Cross. Sarzana, Cathedral



102. Deposition, from Uffizi No. 432. Florence, Uffizi



103. Deposition, from the Rosano Cross. Rosano, Santa Maria



104. Deposition, from Pisa No. 20. Pisa, Museo Civico



105. Deposition, from Uffizi No. 434. Florence, Uffizi



106. Castellare Master. Deposition, from a vertical dossal, Madonna and Child with Passion Scenes. Florence, Bargello



107. Enrico di Tedice. Deposition, from the San Martino Cross. Pisa
San Martino



108. Salerno di Coppo. Deposition, from the Pistoia Cross. Pistoia, Cathedral



109. Deposition, from the Santa Marta Cross. Pisa, Santa Marta



110. Deposition; Lamentation. Ivory plaque. Constance, Rosgarten Museum



111. Deposition. Homilies of Gregory of Nazianzus, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. gr. 510, fol. 30v



112. Deposition. Parma, Biblioteca Palatina, Ms. 5, fol. 90v.



113. Deposition. Gelat Gospel Book, Tbilisi, Institute of Manuscripts, fol. 217



114. Deposition. Ivory plaque. Washington, D.C., Dumbarton Oaks



115. Deposition. Ivory plaque. Hanover, Provinzialmuseum



116. Deposition, Lamentation. New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, Ms. 639, fol. 280r.



117. Deposition. Nerezi, St. Panteleimon



118. Deposition. Mileševa, church of the Ascension



119. Deposition. Staro Nagoričina, St. George



120. Carrying of the Body of Patroclus. Stone relief. Volterra,
Museo Etrusco Guarnacci



122. Deposition. London, British Museum, Add. Ms. 7170, fol. 159v.



123. Custos Perhtolt. Deposition. New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, Ms. 780, fol. 29v.



124. Deposition. Salzburg Gospels, New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, Ms. 781, fol. 222v.



125. Oblate Cross Master. Deposition, from a diptych. Florence, Uffizi



126. Oblate Cross Master. Deposition, Ex-Gentner Collection, whereabouts unknown



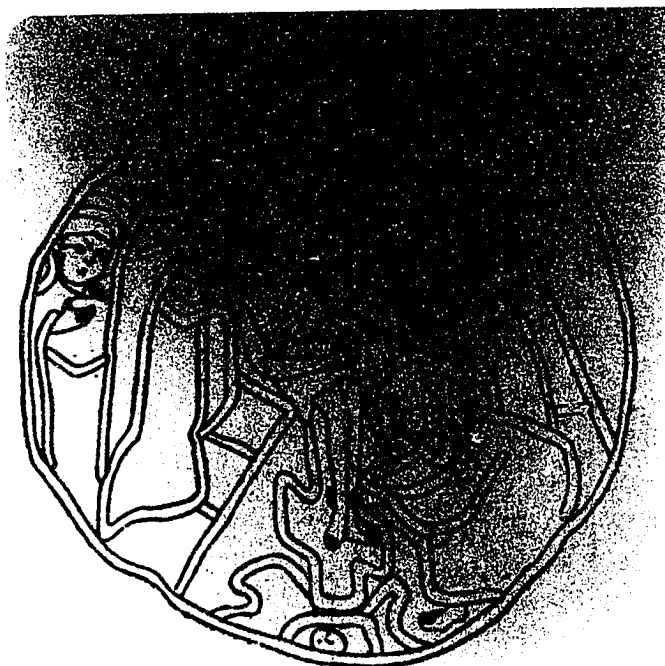
127. Deposition. New Haven, Yale University Art Gallery



128. Deposition. Ivory plaque. Leningrad, Hermitage Museum



129. Deposition. Nonatola, San Silvestro, Monastery Treasury, fol. 45v.



130. Deposition. Omophorion of St. Arsenius. Želtikevyj monastery,
near Tver



131. Deposition. Bronze door panel. Ravello, Cathedral



132. Deposition. Relief from a pulpit. Florence, San Leonardo in Arcetri



133. Deposition. Wood. Volterra, Cathedral



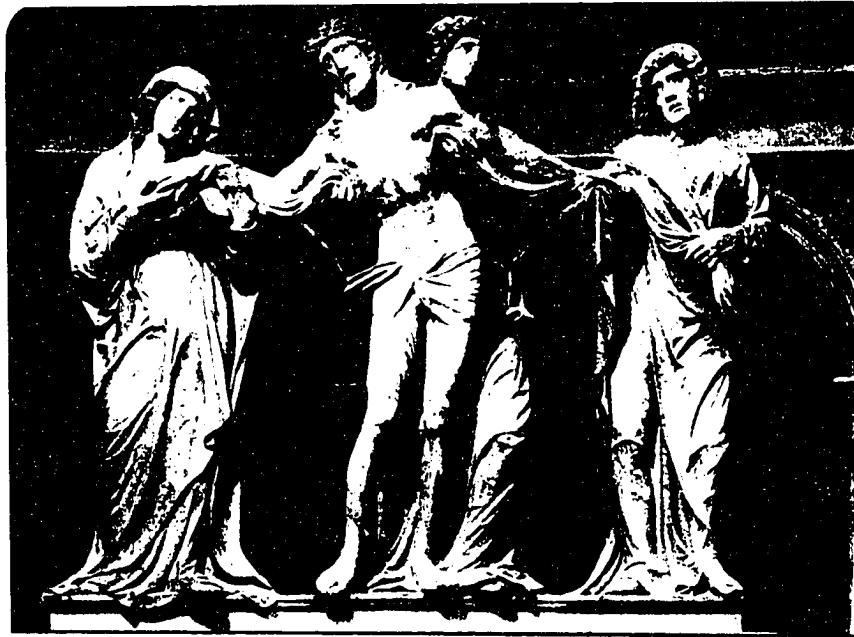
134. Miracle of the Loaves and Fishes. Gospels of Otto III, Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Ms. lat. 4453



135. Communion of the Apostles. Pantocrator Psalter, Mt. Athos, Monastery of the Pantocrator, Ms. 61



136. Fra Angelico. Entombment. Munich, Alte Pinakothek



137. Adolf Daucher. Man of Sorrows. Stone. Augsburg, St. Anne, Fugger Chapel



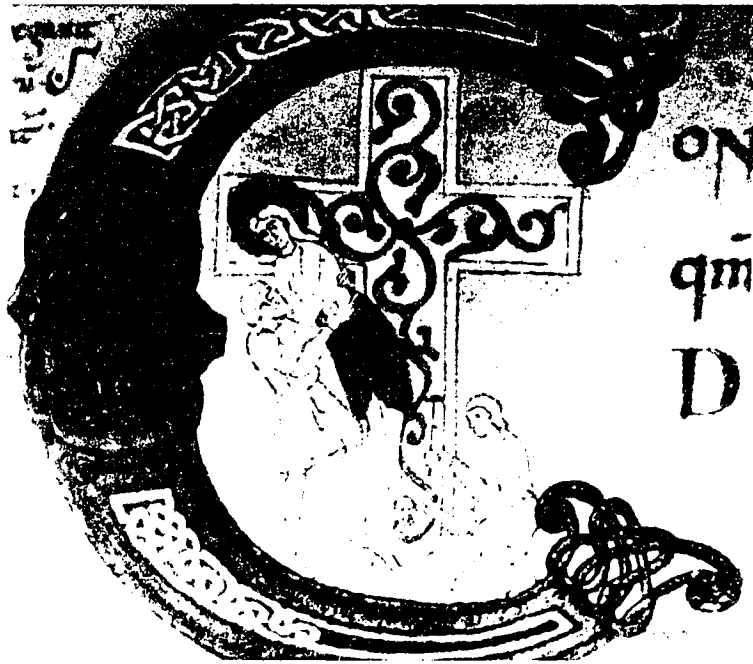
138. Deposition, from a book cover. Venice, Biblioteca Marciana



139. Deposition, from a steatite plaque. Rome, Vatican Museum



140. Deposition. Prilep, St. Nicholas



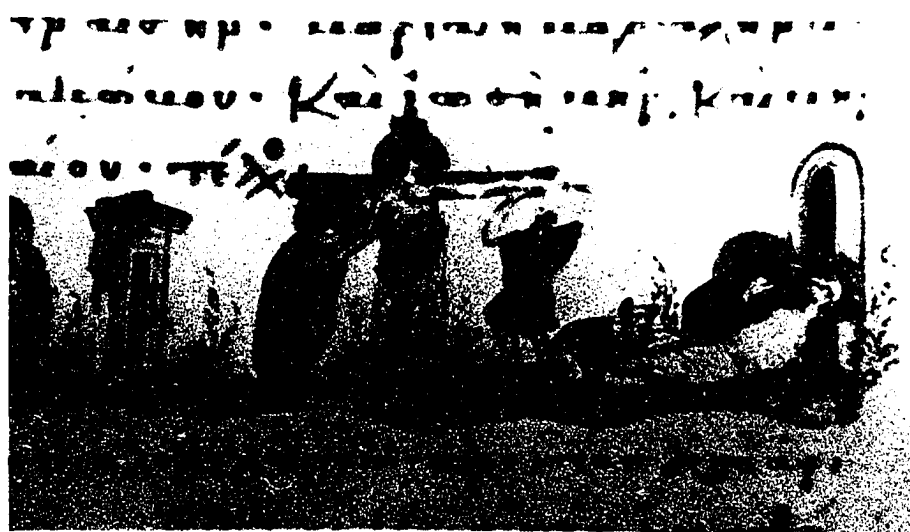
141. Deposition. Psalter of St. Bertin, Boulogne-sur-Mer, Bibliothèque de la Ville, Ms. 20, fol. 119v.



142. Deposition. Bronze door panel. Rome, San Paolo fuori le mura



143. Deposition. Mt. Athos, Iviron, Ms. 5, fol. 129v.



144. Deposition, Lamentation. Florence, Laurentian Library, Ms. Plut. VI. 23, fol. 59v.



145. Deposition, Bearing of the Body; from an ivory plaque. Munich, Staatsbibliothek



146. Deposition. Wood relief. Berlin, Staatliche Museum



147. Deposition. Hastières Psalter, Munich, Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 13067, fol. 17



148. Gulliellmus. Entombment, from the Sarzana Cross. Sarzana, Cathedral



149. San Michele Master. Entombment, from the San Michele Cross. Lucca, San Michele



150. San Michele Master. Entombment, from the Museo Civico Cross.
Lucca, Museo Civico, Villa Guinigi



151. Entombment, from the Santa Giulia Cross. Lucca, Santa Giulia



152. Entombment, from Uffizi No. 432. Florence, Uffizi



153. Entombment, from the Rosano Cross. Rosano, Santa Maria



154. Lamentation, from Pisa No. 20. Pisa, Museo Civico



155. Entombment, from Pisa No. 20. Pisa, Museo Civico



156. Enrico di Tedico. Entombment, from the San Martino Cross. Pisa, San Martino



157. Bearing of the Body, from Uffizi No. 434. Florence, Uffizi



158. Coppo di Marcovaldo. Lamentation, from the San Gimignano Cross.
San Gimignano, Pinacoteca



159. Coppo di Marcovaldo. Lamentation, detail



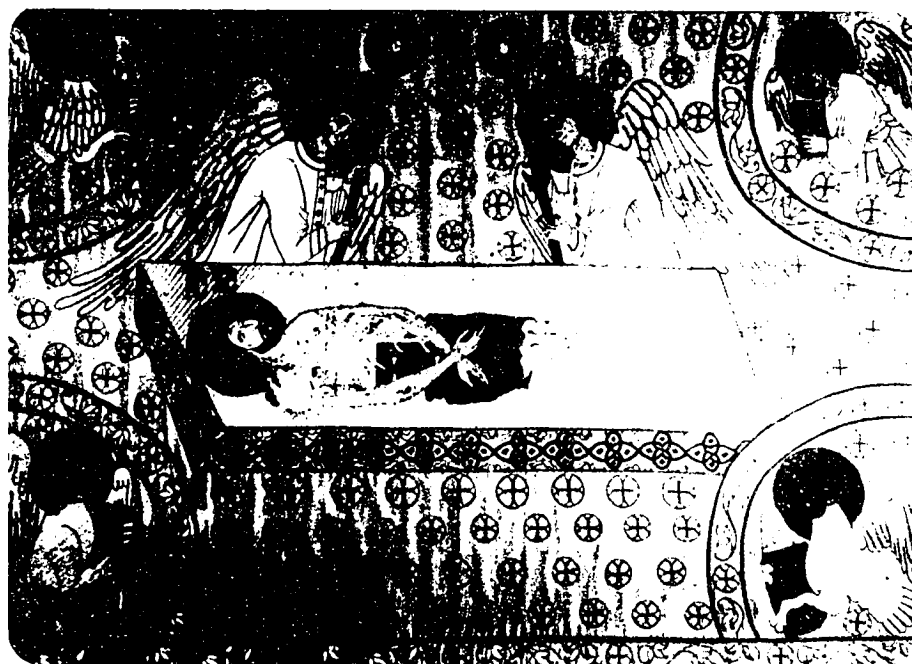
160. Salerno di Coppo. Lamentation, from the Pistoia Cross. Pistoia, Cathedral



161. Bearing of the Body. Khudov Psalter, Moscow, Historical Museum, Ms. gr. 129, fol. 87r.



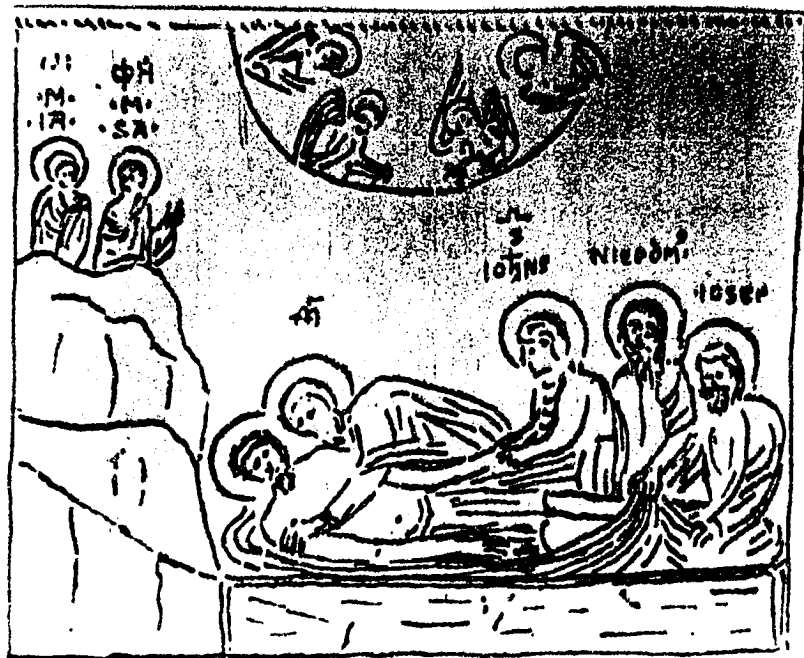
162. Entombment. Egbert Codex, Trier, Stadtbibliothek, Ms. 24, fol. 84



163. Epitaphios. Venice, Museo Marciano



164. Anointing of Christ, from a metal icon. Shemokmedi, Tiflis Museum



165. Lamentation. Icon. Leningrad, Hermitage Museum



166. Lamentation. Čučer, St. Nikita



167. Lamentation. Rome, Vatican Museum, Ms. gr. 1136, fol. 194v.



168. Lamentation. Nerezi, St. Panteleimon



169. Two Women at the Tomb. Berlin, Staatliche Museum, Ms. gr. quarto 66, fol. 95



170. Lamentation. Steatite plaque. Rome, Vatican Museum



171. Entombment. Hosios Lukas



172. Peter and John at the Tomb. Florence, Laurentian Library, Ms. Plut. VI. 23, fol. 209v.



173. Peter and John at the Tomb. Munich, Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 15713, fol. 7v.



174. Anointing of Christ. Chartres, Royal Portal, capital frieze



175. Anointing of Christ. Dreux, St. Étienne, capital



176. Anointing of Christ. Winchester Psalter, London, British Museum, Ms. Cott. Nero CIV, fol. 23



177. Entombment, from the Salerno Antependium. Stone relief. Salerno, Museo del Duomo



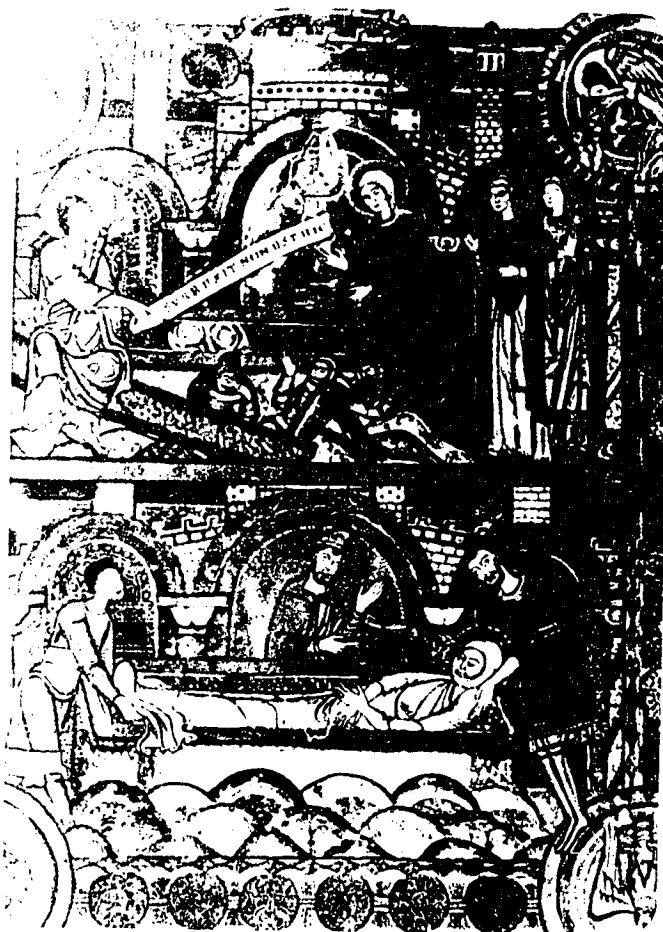
178. Entombment. Sant'Angelo in Formis, near Capua



179. Entombment. London, Victoria and Albert Museum, Ms. 661



180. Entombment. Salzburg, Stiftsbibliothek St. Peter, Ms. a. XXX.7, fol. 631



181. Three Women at the Tomb, Entombment. Gospels of Henry the Lion, Collection of the Duke of Brunswick, fol. 174v.



182. Church of the Holy Sepulchre. Crusader seal



183. Nicholas of Verdun. Entombment, from the Klosterneuberg Altar.
Klosterneuberg, Church of the Augustinian Monastery



184. Entombment. Winchester, Cathedral, Chapel of the Holy Sepulchre



185. Entombment. St. Albans Psalter, Hildesheim, St. Codehard, Library,
fol. 48



186. Entombment. Ashburnam Evangelistary, Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, Ms. Bibl. McClean 22. fol. 29v.



187. Lamentation. Egina, Palaeochora, Omorphi Ecclesia



188. Resurrection. Ashburnam Evangelistary, Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, Ms. Bibl. McClean 22, fol. 30



189. Bearing of the Body. Theodore Psalter, London, British Museum, Add. Ms. 19352, fol. 116



190. Bearing of the Body. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. gr. 74, fol. 209r.



191. Bearing of the Body. Monreale, Cathedral



192. Bearing of the Body. Sopoćani, Church of the Holy Trinity



193. Epitaphios. Bucharest, State Museum



194. Lamentation, detail: holy women. Ohrid, St. Clement



195. Giotto. Lamentation, Padua, Arena Chapel



196. Isaac Master. Lamentation. Assisi, San Francesco, Upper Church